3:Nash E-5 (1964-1965) 1967
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Death as a Way of Life: The Increasing Resort to Homicide in a Maya Indian Community[1]

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The breaking-down of a social-control system based on belief in the guardianship of the spiritual ancestors and their temporal agents, the curers, is reflected in a rising homicide rate as people turn to individual sanctions when threatened. The acts of homicide differ in their social significance according to who is killed, the context, the agency, and the motivation of the killer. Thirty-seven homicides between 1930 and 1965, analyzed in terms of these component variables, reflect the conflicts arising from competition in new economic enterprises, the rising suspicion of curers' abuses of their supernatural power, and the loss of belief in the guardianship of the ancestors.

THE social impact of homicide has caused some analysts[2] to treat it and its supposed inverted complement, suicide, as one kind of behavior with a single meaning, ignoring Durkheim's caveat that behavioral rubrics categorize diverse phenomena. Here I shall analyze the variety of strategies involved in killing in a Mexican community, which I shall call Teklum (the Tzeltal term for village), and endeavor to show how rules of behavior are expressed in killing and in attempts to avoid being killed. Further, I shall endeavor to point out what these indicate about structural and organizational changes both within the community and in its relations with the wider society. Since suicide is absent, except for a single case of a madman, I have restricted my enquiry to homicide.

Teklum is a predominantly Indian township of Mexico. The population of the town center—about 1,900—includes only one Ladino, or non-Indian, family, that of the schoolteacher. The sense of community is limited to people living in the center and in the four nearby hamlets (*barrios*).

The town center is divided physically and socially into two endogamous sections, called "upper" and "lower." The outlying hamlets are linked to the nearest section by social and economic ties. The civil and religious posts of the town are, in local theory, apportioned evenly between the sections. This was in fact true until the 1950's, for each of the ranked posts had a paired complement, so that both sides of the dual division were represented, and the single posts of president and *síndico* (the president's administrative assistant) were al-

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It is in the context of these structural divisions that social change and its behavioral indices must be analyzed.

Homicide—an act viewed as a delict in national Mexican law—has in the past two decades become an accepted strategy in social interaction. It is part of the expectations of the society upon which members predicate their own code of behavior and in terms of which they react to others. Gossip not only fails to suppress homicide, but serves to create a consensual base for condoning it. The corpse is referred to as "the one who had the guilt," *'u xtakat xmak*, and even when knowledge of the particular act is lacking, certain assumptions are made: the killer was someone in the community; the victim provoked the killer. In listing crimes, informants sometimes failed to mention killing, or they included it after witchcraft, theft, or adultery. Homicide is considered a reaction to crime, not a crime in itself.

The rate is phenomenally high—up to 251.2 per 100,000 (when adjusted to bring the whole township's population of a little over 3,000 to the base for measuring international rates)—and it is increasing. This compares with national rates of 4.8 for the United States, 31.9 for Mexico (United Nations Demographic Yearbook 1964), and 56.2 for a nearby town (Favre 1964).

The following tabulation summarizes the homicides by decades since 1915, the earliest date for which records are available.

1915–1924	4
1925–1934	5
1935–1944	19
1945–1954	9
1955–1966	35

Figures prior to 1930 are not apt to be accurate, for only since that time have there been adequate reporting and checking of township records. In the following tabulation, the marked increase in the annual number of homicides since 1960 represents a real increase.

1930	1	1958	1
1951	0	1959	1
1952	1	1960	4
1953	1	1961	7
1954	1	1962	6
1955	0	1963	7
1956	1	1964	4
1957	4	1965	9

In order to assess the meaning of its remarkable increase during the 1960's, I have pro-

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682 creded along two lines of enquiry. First, I have
694 analysed the circumstances surrounding the
• 121 deaths in as many cases as my informants could remember. Variations in the components of homicidal acts—the setting, agents, purpose, and outcome—suggested the different assumptions underlying each case. Secondly, I have correlated the different kinds of homicide with structural and organizational changes in
682 the community. The analysis of cases in Sec-
694 tion I summarizes the patterned components
128 of behavior. The social environment providing the cues to the actors is explored in Section II.

682 165 [128] ## I. THE PATTERNED COMPONENTS OF 37 HOMICIDE CASES

The following tabulations and discussion are based on the 37 cases presented in Table 1.

Who Is Killed

Sex:	all male	
Age:	18–22	5
	27–30	7
	34–38	7
	42–48	6
	50	3
	60	2
	65	2
	70	2
	?	1
[463] Occupation:	curer	8
	political leader	1
	farmer	28

One-half the total number of killings occurred to those between the ages of 34 to 50. However, as the six victims aged 60 and over indicate, survival to a late age does not ensure that one will die a nonviolent death. The age of the victim may be correlated with motive, insofar as some events leading to conflict occur
68 only at certain times in the life cycle. Thus,
[578] betrothal conflicts involved only young men, while victims accused of witchcraft were older: 27 was the age of the youngest, and 16 out of the 18 men killed as witches were over 34. Cattle theft, on the other hand, occurred throughout the age range.

682 165 756 Eight of the victims—more than one-fifth of them—were curers, a much higher proportion than their share in the total population, for there are only about a dozen now living in the town center of 1,900.

682 156 There is a personality type recognized by the community as distinctive of those who "get

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183 Thus I fare well. I have not been killed, nor have I been sick.

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828 A good man is of one heart, and he shows it by his humility. *ben k'un yo?tan* or "very soft heart." He can drink with friends on either side of the dual division of the town, and he is called upon in many household fiestas to greet the guests of the house-owner.

But the man who is "very strong of heart," *ben toyol yo?tan*, who "fails to take people into account" *mi ?awa ta cuenta*, who "abuses people" *mo vu winik* has means of survival despite the many threats to his life. He sur-
[608] rounds himself with a circle of *compadres*, or
[756] godparents he especially picks out curers, both to mitigate the use of their power against him, and for them to serve as intermediaries if he should have enemies with animal spirits. When a threat becomes imminent, he may stay within his house or limit his range of activities to a very circumscribed area, always taking a weapon when he does go out. He will usually
[273] try to limit his drinking, or give it up entirely. These short-range rules of avoidance are clearly indicated by the circumstances in which killings occur: in the hills or at night, when the victim is under the influence of liquor.

682 These 37 cases of homicide reveal a regularity in the kinds of people and situations involved. The victims are most often men who
[578] assert power, principally curers, or men who violate standards of behavior by abusiveness or theft. Their killers are often linked to them by kinship or neighborhood, the bonds in which tensions are greatest. The regularity of time and place of homicide suggests the precautions that can be taken to avoid being
682 killed if one has an enemy. The general failure
626 of the community social-control agents to bring negative sanctions against a killer indicates that homicide is an accepted solution for interpersonal conflict. The structural setting that validates this behavior is discussed below.

II. STRUCTURAL CHANGE AND SOCIAL CONTROL

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626 Case analysis, useful for discerning certain patterns, is inadequate for understanding the interrelationships among a variety of social changes in the community. An increasing rate of homicide of this magnitude indicates fundamental changes in the social matrix in which individual decisions are made; it suggests not

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682 only a rise in the tensions that provoke con-
178 flict, but an undermining of the social-control
•121 mechanisms for channeling them. The percep-
626 tion of these changes by the members of the society makes for shifts in the individual calculi, grossly measured in changes in the rate of
[128] behavior. In order to understand the interrelated problems of the sources of the increasing tensions and the reasons homicide is chosen as a means of resolving them, I have reconstructed the course of social change in the period from 1935 to 1965.

178 *Increasing Social Tensions*

556 New economic enterprises have increased wealth differences in the community. The best measure of this is in the increase in cattle-holding, which is a socially approved way of spending money. Twenty-five years ago, there were only a half-dozen men with cattle, and they had only one or two head each. Today,
178 one of the herders in the community has 200
233 head of cattle, and 75 percent of the households
556 have one or more each.

Cattle-herding is a "new" industry in the sense that instead of just having a team of oxen to help with agricultural labor, men are
233 breeding cattle for profit. Because the cattle
685 roam freely, there is much loss, and this leads to accusations of theft. I have never heard such accusations directed against anyone outside the community; crime as well as positive moral relationships is confined within the
682 boundaries of this corporate community. Sus-
685 pected cattle thieves are killed by the cattle-
[474] owner or by a killer hired by the cooperative of cattle-owners. Such killings account for six of the 37 cases analyzed above (Table 1).

178 The illicit distilling of liquor has also added
274 to the town's prosperity. The liquor industry was introduced about 15 years ago, but the number of distillers has increased from 5 to 40
[438] in the last five years. From an enterprise
[439] formerly meeting only local market needs, contraband liquor is now sold as far away as the coastal area and across the border in
274 Guatemala. A cooperative of distillers has re-
474 duced the frictions that immediately followed the introduction of liquor-distilling. The cooperative pays the fines of any member caught distilling, and in addition threatens to use group action against informers, who were formerly tempted to earn the 200 pesos offered
[578] by federal agents. But the envy aroused by the sight of those who profit from this enterprise,

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leaders, both in the civil authority and in the curing profession. The transition from the old hierarchy of control to the new leadership structure is still in process. In the most recent confrontation of the civil authority and curers, the fact that neither side resorted to violence suggests the transitional nature of homicide as a solution in intracommunal conflict.

This study of homicide indicates that the changing rate of behavior points to structural change, but does not in itself indicate what kind of change occurs or from what motives it stems. Qualitative case analysis related to structural changes within the recall of informants is essential for understanding social process.

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NOTES

[1] Field work is based on two periods of residence in the community in 1964 and 1965; it was supported by the National Institute of Mental Health. I am grateful for comments by Paul Friedrich, Richard Henderson, Harold Scheffler, and Peter Wilson, who have improved the original version read at the 1965 meetings of the American Anthropological Association. I remain responsible for the contents of the paper.

[2] Henry and Short (1954:18) analyze both suicide and homicide as undifferentiated aggressive reactions to frustration, the rates of which vary—in the first case inversely and in the second case directly—with the strength of the external control system over behavior. Their assumption that homicide is motivationally a single phenomenon, and not an expression of a variety of motives, stems from the assumption that all cases of aggressive acts are the result of frustration. Straus and Straus (1964:587) apply a similar correlational analysis of homicide and suicide rates with structural features of society in Ceylon, but come to opposite conclusions. They maintain that one would expect greater evidence of homicide in a "loosely structured society," by which they mean one with considerable sanctioning of variation in individual behavior. These studies contradict each other in the conclusions that they reach by similar analytical processes, but they are attempts to move away from such psychoanalytic reasoning as the death wish theory.

[3] Bohannan's (1960) survey of homicide and suicide in African societies represents a useful model for comparing the total pattern of homicide cross-culturally. In presenting the case material here, I have used a similar format, adding to it the circumstances surrounding the killing. In the analysis of these materials, I have diverged from Bohannan's model in trying to demonstrate the linkage among the components—the ratios, to use Burke's (1945) terminology of scene-setting-actor/agent.

[4] The term "witch" is a translation of the Tzeltal term *ʔak'-čamel*, literally "giver of sickness." The term "curer" is a translation of *ʔuʔul*. The power to cure and to give sickness stems from the possession of a *nagual*, or animal spirit.

[5] For a discussion of the tactics of gaining consensus in witch-killings, see Manning Nash (1960).

[6] Political homicide by agrarian leaders, which is so frequent in the central plateau (Friedrich 1962), is a relatively recent phenomenon in the retreat zones of Indian population. The cases analyzed by Friedrich are a strategy of political power stemming from a revolutionary background, and the cultural assumptions to which he points contrast with those underlying witch-killings. My only comparable case is significantly found outside the traditional center, in the new ejido colony.

[7] Jules Henry (1936) sees the formula of fear and anger as the

6: Metzger E-5 (no date) 1964 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

• 121 This thesis is an introduction to the ethnography of drinking in Aguacatenango, a Mayan-speaking community in Chiapas. It displays in some detail the roles and the circumstances of drinking performances there, and it examines some of the ways in which drinking performances reflect the more general beliefs and habitual actions of the people of the community.

*273 183 The drinking of beverage alcohol is a highly frequent, well-patterned part of life in most of the Chiapas highland Indian communities, the only known exceptions being some of the *273 184 protestant enclaves in Oxchuk and environs (Slocum 1956). While [114] detailed references to drinking performances are scarce, it has been determined that variations on the patterns to be described for Aguacatenango are likely to be found at least in Amatenango (Nash 1960); Cancuc (Guiteras-Holmes 1946); Chamula (Bunzel 1940, Pozas 1959); Chenalhó (Guiteras-Holmes 1961); Huistan (Miller 1958); Oxchuc (Castro 1959, 1962; Siverts 1960; Slocum 1956; Villa-Rojas 1946); Tenejapa (Metzger and Williams 1963);

273* 184 Tzinacantan (Laughlin 1962). Many more of the Indian communities could be added to this list.

273* 171 In a more general way, the drinking patterns found in Chiapas highlands are observed throughout much of the aboriginal new world. Thus Cooper (1946: 544) says:

> In some regions, particularly the Andean and parts of the forested lowlands, fermented beverages are drunk as a common everyday beverage. Most of the drinking, however, throughout the great brewing area of the West Indies, Middle America and continental South America is in connection with drinking sprees, of a social and/or magicoreligious nature in which groups participate. These drinking bouts are main or attendant features of gatherings of all kinds, especially in connection with hunting, fishing, harvesting, and other food-getting activities, with visiting and hospitality to guests, with war, victory, and peacetime councils, with births, naming, initiations, weddings, and funerals, and with magico-religious festivals, rites, and celebrations--the specific occasions differing from tribe to tribe and from area to area. The sprees may last from a few hours up to many days, usually until all the available liquid is exhausted. The participants imbibe until they reach various stages of intoxication, from mild tipsiness to complete alcoholic coma. Among nearly all people on whom we have information, the bouts are accompanied by and end in the airing of grudges and hurling of insults, which lead to quarrels and fighting, more or less violent and not uncommonly fatal. Sex intrigues and orgies are equally common accompaniments.

121 273* While some of the general characteristics of drinking are known for the New World, detailed ethnographic descriptions are rather rare, causing Cooper (1946), Heath (1962), Simmons (1962), and Washburne (1961), among others, to suggest that more attention needs to be paid to this type of study. The descriptions of drinking performances which have been published on the aboriginal populations of the New World are perceptive if overly brief.

121 273 They tend to aim at understanding drinking as a pathological phenomena and thus dysfunctional (cf. Bunzel 1940) or, alternatively, as an anxiety reducing mechanism (Horton 1943), dysfunctional only in those societies which have not successfully integrated drinking performances into the set of legitimate and even necessary social performances. On the other hand, drinking has been viewed as functional and integrative by Mangin (1957), Heath (1962), and Simmons (1962). Most recently, a cross-cultural study done by Field (1962) has suggested that heavy drinking is related to "variables indicating a personal (or informal) rather than a corporate (formal) organization, but is substantially unrelated to the level of anxiety in the society."

The paucity and the inadequacy of description reported in these cross-cultural studies indicate that performances have been primarily of interest to students of alcoholism and have been of only peripheral interest to anthropologists. To the extent that drinking has been of interest to anthropologists, it has been interpreted with a view to throwing light on the consumption of beverage alcohol in the United States. The point has been well made that alcoholism as it is known in the United States is but one of a variety of forms of drinking performances and that students of alcoholism may wish to examine other forms before constructing a general set of statements about the consumption of beverage alcohol by human beings. Whether the use

121 273* of beverage alcohol is functional or dysfunctional depends on socio-cultural contexts which need to be uncovered in every next case in which such use is investigated. A description of the relation of drinking patterns to their socio-cultural context, then, contributes to a steadily growing but still inadequate ethnographic literature without which further cross-cultural perspective will be lacking.

121 The present investigation is devoted to a detailed statement of how alcohol is used in Aguacatenango. The bulk of the 123 data herein reported came as the result of participant observation 124 for extended periods in Aguacatenango. Some material on the drinking patterns of individuals was gathered in interviews conducted by transcribing informants. These interviews were special Tzeltal conversations in which Pedro Juárez and Mariano Juárez separately read off or otherwise repeated questions directing the respondent to report some aspect of his experience with drinking.

124 Of all the questions which could be asked, we selected 125 seven which are reported by our informants to occur frequently in conversation about drinking and which men answer about themselves if they are asked. Our two transcribing informants then asked these questions of seventy-six men in town. The procedure was simply to ask each person a question, listen to his response, and then write down in Tzeltal a "synopis" of the response. The

125 time they spend and the perceived consequences of the behavior. The evidence is inferential; it does not express actual times spent at drinking, actual payments for drinking, nor actual [124] quantities of alcohol consumed. Since the questions and responses were Tzeltal, the reports are at least appropriate in local terms.

126 In addition to the above data, a great deal of material on social roles and their relation to drinking and on the general beliefs and patterns of action in drinking performances has been extracted from native language texts. The text constitute a number of conversations between individuals in Aguacatenango, recorded on tape and then transcribed and translated into Spanish 124 by a bilingual informant. The conversations were at first unfocused; later, I instructed the informant who initiated all of the conversations to elicit a description of a recent illness in the household of the other party. Drinking was not at that time [121] my major interest, but its frequency and its close association with illness brought up the subject in over half of the conver- 126 sations. The taped records were made in a variety of settings 124 and under a range of constraining conditions; my general strategy was to go from house to house with my informant and to record his conversation with whoever was present and willing to talk. The best of the records share the feature that at least two Aguacatenangeros were present in the recording setting and knew

6: Metzger E-5 (no date) 1964 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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CHAPTER II

DRINKING PERFORMANCES AND SOCIAL ROLES

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554 The scheduling of drinking in Aguacatenango and the internal structure of individual drinking performances can be considered as a code in which information about the roles and statuses of individuals is communicated. A brief look at the inventory of social roles will provide essential background for the description of this code.

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562 The composition of the Aguacatenango household, in terms of age and sex of members, is patterned as follows: Persons in the household under twenty years of age may be of either sex and any age. The ages of members of this group, relative to each other, are minimally two years apart. Persons over twenty years of age stand in a special age relationship: There is approximately a fifteen-year minimum age difference between individuals of the same sex. Age differences between individuals of opposite sex are such that they will either be the same age or the age rule for same sex members will hold. Finally, there will be no more than one individual of each sex in any of these age slots in any household. An age-sex distribution of a house, then, looks like the following diagram.

Restrictions on the characteristics of acceptable data in the study of illness

• /2/ In attempting to study illness in Aguacatenango, procedural difficulties led me to the following observations.

(1) It is not possible to duplicate the sense experience of a member of another culture. Even knowing, now, some of the rules in terms of which inferences are made from sense experience, I believe it to be unlikely that we will be able to write ethnographic descriptions on the basis of similarity of sense experience (between ethnographer and informant). Hence, the hope of making ethnographic descriptions by "learning through internalization of the culture" seems to be explicitly excluded as a basis for making cultural descriptions.

The perception of events, objects, processes by even the most sophisticated ethnographer must inevitably suffer contamination from his own cultural experience. Even should it be the case that the ethnographer can properly learn the native culture in the sense that he can always make the proper deductions, the time consumed makes it impractical, the investigator hence being constrained to the learning of one, or at most two, cultures besides his own in the course of his professional life.

(2) Even if it were possible to duplicate the sense experience of the native, it would still be the case that much of native communication is based on non-shared sense experience.

© 12/ This is clear in the case of illness as it is reported by individuals in Aguacatenango. While I had no trouble in establishing an inventory of states of illness, as informants reported them, I could not establish a basis for measuring the informant's sense experience independent of his report.

There may be cultural dimensions where the investigator is able independently to establish stimulus values. The world of material objects, for example, permits detailed examination in terms of physical measures of light and shade, intensity, color, sound, shape, and so on. Native classifications of those objects which exist in a materially defined space may conceivably be so described. Much of the cultural material that must be included in descriptions, however, does not exist in an easily searchable perceptual space.[1] Furthermore, it is not certain

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[1] Frake observes (1961: 124) "The discovery of what cue discriminations informants are making when contrasting one disease with another is exceedingly difficult. Many apparently pertinent cues, such as the ones that enable a Subanun patient to distinguish 'headache' (mesait gulu) from 'migraine' (tampiak) are known only by verbal descriptions. A disease 'entity' such as 'headache' is not something that can be pointed to, nor can exemplars of diseases ordinarily be brought together for visual comparison and contrast as can, say, two plants. Moreover, situational features other than stimulus attributes of the illness bear on the final diagnostic decision. The same degree of pain, if objectively measured, could probably lead to a diagnosis of either 'headache' or 'migraine' depending on current social or ecological role demands on the patient. Nevertheless, very few diagnostic decisions are made by the Subanun without some apparent appeal to stimulus properties of illness; and in the majority of diagnoses these are the overriding considerations."

121 that the attribute space relevant to material objects is going to be easily searchable.[1]

(3) Most theories that individuals have about causal relationships in the real world are documented by events which have already taken place. They are of the type: X is true because Y has happened; or, alternatively, since Y, then X. Garfinkel has called this the documentary method (Garfinkel n.d.). It is characteristic of the documentary method that there is hardly ever a set of past events which deny some set of inferences the documentary method provides.[2] Thus, in Aguacatenango, an epidemic stops because the witch who was causing it has been killed; if, on the other hand, the epidemic does not stop with the killing of a witch, then another witch must be responsible. Again, a sick person gets well because a curing ceremony has been performed; if he does not get well after the ceremony, then his illness must be witchcraft and the witch more powerful than the curer. The documentary method is never wrong. This may be

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[1] See Conklin (1955).

[2] This characteristic of the documentary method is explicated in an experiment by Garfinkel (op. cit.). Subjects were told that they should report by phone to counselors serious problems they were experiencing. Whenever the subject thought of a question to which the counselor could answer yes or no, he was instructed to ask the question. The counselor then answered each question yes or no. The subjects were required to interpret the counselor's response. In every case the subjects were able to "make sense" out of the counselor's response. The counselors' responses were drawn from a table of random numbers.

121 one reason most "primitive" belief systems require so much pressure before they can be brought under our documentary rules.

The beginnings of a theory of illness for Aguacatenango

In order to develop a theory of illness, one must have a way for directing the informant's attention to this domain or focus; or, alternatively, the ethnographer must be able to detect in the set of observables he has available to him, those which are, to some extent, conditioned by the salience of illness in one or another of its forms to the performers. In the present case we depend upon verbal contexts to establish relevance from the informant's point of view, and we use verbal contexts to test non-simulated performances in order to determine the salience of illness in the record of any situation we may be examining. One general measure of relevance is expressed in the Tzeltal question: /TUT LA SPAS/ "What happened to him" literally "What was he doing?" A further probe such as: /TUT+A CAMELIL YA YA*I*/ "What illness does he feel?" if it can be made relevant, is fairly likely to put the observer into the domain of illness as it is being experienced by some participant. If the illness is a non-simulated performance, further eliciting will produce further reports of states relevant in that domain. If the illness is a simulated performance, further well controlled eliciting will produce further relevant responses to

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753 the initial simulated performance. Such material, in conjunction with texts, constitutes the basis for the following survey of beliefs about illness.

753 The conditions which precede the onset of illness are many and varied. While some of them are known to be antecedent to illness in the sense that if an individual experiences one of these conditions the probability is increased that he will become ill, there are nonetheless many conditions which become diagnostic of the illness only after the individual defines himself and is defined as being ill. Types of experiences which lead the individual to anticipate illness include either becoming angry or being an object of anger; experiencing extreme fright, as when one has had dreams, or has seen the image of some malevolent non-human force (i.e., a ladino dressed in black riding a tall horse); and drinking aguardiente. These and similar experiences carry permanent associations with illness; the individual expects to become ill and often does so. Conditions which are used to explain illness only after-the-fact tend to be more properly theoretical in that they explain at once the necessary and sufficient conditions for some non-hypothetical occurrence of some disease process.

Among the after-the-fact explanations one finds statements such as, "the patient is suffering from soul loss, his soul presently residing in the Owner of the Cave's soul pool."

273 proper interpretations of drinking behavior can only proceed as rapidly as careful descriptions of drinking behavior are formulated. Drinking performances anywhere in the world occur in more or less well defined contexts which are subject to well ordered descriptions. One cannot judge any individual's drinking performances until and unless he has discovered the contextual rules in terms of which this individual is operating. It has [121] been the intent of this thesis to point to some of these kinds of contextual rules.

273 554 In Aguacatenango drinking performances reflect important principles of social organization which are elsewhere attested in other performances which are not drinking performances. In drinking performances there is a simultaneous mapping of differences in social status and role as there is a statement of how the wealth in the community should be divided. In any drinking [561] performance, men of senior age and generation drink first, their juniors drinking later. Women and children drink separately and in small amounts. While the relative order of drinking marks the relative status of the men present, all men drink the same amount. Not only does this clearly delineate men's and women's roles but it also expresses the condition that across time, every man can expect to occupy a status position senior to the one he presently has. Such changes in status are not dependent [556] upon the achievement of great wealth since everyone should have

6: Metzger E-5 (no date) 1964 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Aguacatenango

this in equal amounts (as mapped by the equal amounts of aguardiente they receive). In fact, as we have earlier observed, drinking performances are regularly scheduled, explicitly verbalized events in which differences in real wealth are leveled.

The ethnographic aims of this thesis may be summed up more or less as follows. It is clear, now, that it is possible to describe systems within culture in terms relevant and significant to those who are participants in that culture. This thesis has aimed to formulate such a description of drinking behavior in Aguacatenango. The procedures we have discussed in the earlier chapters are general in the sense that they are, it now appears to us, applicable to any culture, and to most foci or domains therein. One should not be surprised, however, if some varieties of learned behavior are not directly accessible to study in this fashion.

Though some notions from structural linguistics seem relevant, the immediate relevance of linguistic data is as an aid in discovering and relating other cultural patterns. McQuown's reading of Whorf's (1941) statement regarding "fashions of speaking" seems relevant here: "This approach [Whorf's] would seem to de-emphasize the role of linguistic patterns as such and to stress the function of language as a medium for the manifestation of other cultural patterns, in which precise formal characteristics of the medium were merely limiting and not determining

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000 factors" (McQuown 1956). Precise formal characteristics of the language involved are primarily useful in directing otherwise unstructured stages of the search for patterning.

121 In actuality, we have proceeded in our investigations with a definition in mind, namely that culture consists of what it is the members know or believe in order to behave in the way they do (to paraphrase Goodenough 1957). Acceptability of behavior implies a relation of appropriateness or congruence between behavior and the circumstances in which it occurs. Circumstances operate to restrict to a greater or lesser degree the number of behaviors appropriate thereto, as an effective substitution frame in grammatical analysis leads to the definition of form classes by operating to restrict the number of forms which are substitutable therein. In fact the thesis has been an attempt to locate such environments, such constraining conditions.

We have used verbal environments as a primary source of data, not only because of ease of record-making, as well as the obvious convenience of dealing in this mediated way with things and situations not immediately at hand or impossible to bring to hand; but also because verbal behavior appears to bear some investigable relation to things non-linguistic, and provides the best available tool for the discrimination of meaningful units therein.

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

very adjustments and adaptations that make economic survival possible. Cut off from other Indian communities around them since the Conquest, when their ceremonial centers were destroyed and the political hierarchy which drew them into a single polity was replaced, the Indians were able to retain a sense of cultural independence within the corporate communities (Wolf 1957b). Each community developed a distinctive style of life in which the old pre-Conquest beliefs and customs were reworked with the colonial Spanish introductions. Validation of their behavior lay in the belief that they were doing as the ancestors did, and that they were living "in the eyes of our ancestors."

This social fiction is now threatened by a growing disbelief in the presence of these supernatural figures. The crisis caused by the disjunction between belief and behavior is forcing the Indians to reassess their present condition. Awareness of the contradictions between what they do and what they think they ought to do is forced upon them by events over which they have no control.

This study of a Maya Indian community in the state of Chiapas, Mexico, deals with the problem of the relation between belief and behavior in a changing world. It is a problem that we have failed to solve in our own society, if the labels of our time—The Age of Anxiety, The Society of Alienation—have meaning. I have studied this small Indian society not in search of a solution but as a way of phrasing the problem in the widest possible context.

I selected Tzo'ontahal because the people seemed to have retained a traditional Indian culture even though the community is on the Pan-American Highway linking them with the departmental and national capitals. The question of what changes had affected their lives and how they had responded to them was relevant to my interest in the effects of national changes on local groups. In the last year of my study my interest broadened from an enquiry into responses to external changes to a study of the meanings assigned to both internal and external changes.

Like many other predominantly Mayan communities of the Chiapas highlands, the community is the context of all meaningful social relations. Endogamy and a belief that the people who live in the center and the nearby barrios are descended from the same ancestors give a sense of eth-

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tions of self will find a responsive audience only within these linguistic and physical boundaries. The sense of insulation is a denial of regional and national political institutions in which they interact with the other Indians and Ladinos who are part of their present world and share their history. The town itself is a product of the Spanish colonial *congregación,* which drew together diverse Indian populations that had been scattered in small settlements. The outlying barrios are occupied by Indians who have moved out from the center, as well as foreign Indians who had worked in the *fincas,* or large plantations, within the township. These latter people are referred to by a derisive term, *Kurik,* meaning roughly "country hick." Beyond these, and still within the municipal limits, there are a series of *colonias,* settlements populated by Indians who have moved here from other towns and by *mestizos,* or acculturated Indians. These settlers acquired land in the time of Juarez or later in the Cardenas period. Ladino men are called *Kašlan* and women *Šinlan;* foreigners who do not appear to be of the country are called *Alemán,* the Spanish term for German.

The focus of this book is on the lives and thoughts of people living within the center. The people of Tzo'ontahal live in a square world, surrounded by a round universe. From the square hole, cut in the earth at the center post of their square house to receive the sacrifice of a live chicken when the house is built, stretches a square village (it appears as a rectangle on the map, but they draw it as a square).[2] The fields are measured in squares of twenty-five arms' breadths, with five handspans measuring the square between each plant. Within this square world, they have elaborated techniques for dealing with spiritual and human co-residents in curing rituals, offerings for crops, burial practices, and baptism rites. Their present cultural stock reveals a selective absorption of Spanish colonial features along with twentieth-century innovations. They have techniques for planting and harvesting milpa, marketing the pottery manufactured in all the households, curing an eclipse of the moon, divining causes of illness and curing the maladjusted social relations which cause it, manufacturing and

2. This view of the world as square is shared by Tzeltal and Tzotzil neighbors in Larraínzar (Holland 1963:69), San Pedro Chenalhó (Guiteras Holmes 1961:254), and Pinola (Hermitte 1964). The four-direction concept of the village and world noted by Landa (Tozzer 1941:135) suggests a square-space concept.

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marketing contraband liquor, minimizing discord and settling disputes locally, and preserving continuity in a town administration marked by the annual rotation of officials. 105 177 178

These are the techniques acquired for dealing with the world in which they were born. For the world into which they are being propelled, they are combining new skills with old, creating a semblance of continuity but with a recombination of elements. Fitting this square community into the round post-Columbian world is a task consciously undertaken by the Mexican government. Within the town, strategies are being developed to meet the new demands made on the community as economic and political horizons widen.

The problem focus on the relation between belief and behavior in a changing social environment can be restated by asking how behavior is conditioned by custom and how it responds to cues from the environment. The first class of responses is adjustive, fitting the behavior of the individual to a given environment, and the second is adaptive, changing the external environment (Kluckhohn 1962:46). I shall use the distinction Mowrer and Kluckhohn (1944:258) have made between adaptation, "which develops and changes inherited ways of behaving," and adjustment, "which develops and changes habits," with the former referring to socially acquired responses and the latter to individual responses. A moving equilibrium is found when changes in adjustive and adaptive responses fit a persisting framework of understandings and explanations. Both adjustive and adaptive responses follow rules. These rules enable social groups to generate consistent, understandable, and appropriate behavior in response to a variety of settings. The "rules of the game" set the parameters for adjustive behavior; the "rules of strategy" generate behavior adaptive to change. The rules of the game are validated by the belief system of the society; the rules of strategy can be justified on the same premises, but if they are so fundamental as to challenge existing values, they require a new ideology. 121 •

The model of change which takes into account the techniques of adaptation and adjustment occurring within small-scale societies is that of moving equilibrium. Wallace (1962:142) has stated the dimensions of this model:

121 A culture, under certain conditions, during a period of time can be said to be an open system in a state of stable but moving equilibrium: that is to say, it maintains a boundary, accepts inputs and produces outputs at approximately equal rates, and changes continuously but gradually in internal structure.

The concept of equilibrium is one way to talk about the constraints which make behavior congruent with beliefs. Given a constantly changing ecological setting due to an expanding population and a changing man-land ratio, the stability of the system depends on the adequacy of existing institutions to handle conflict and of shared understandings to explain events. Movement stems from the tension between individual and social goals and the adaptations to bring them into closer harmony. The basic condition for the kind of change characteristic of a moving equilibrium is that conflict is contained within the community.

128 I have organized the data to clarify features maintaining equilibrium and to show the direction in which the society is moving. First I describe formal, prescribed behavior for each institutional complex and relate it to the beliefs that underlie it. Following each of these chapters I analyze strategies formulated in response to changes coming from within or outside the community. The formal behavior providing a framework for continuity is related to place spirits in Chapter 1, to economic activities in Chapter 2, to customs and rituals in the family and neighborhood in Chapters 4 and 5, to civil and religious government in Chapters 7 and 8. Changing strategies are related to economic activities in Chapter 3, to social relations as revealed in curing practices in Chapter 6, and to political relations in Chapter 9.

177 178 [241] [323] Implicit in the organization is an ordering of institutions from most static to most dynamic. In the economy, agricultural technology has been stabilized at the colonial level of adaptation at which the wooden plow, hoe, and machete were added to, but did not displace, the digging stick, while in pottery manufacture, both techniques and products have remained unchanged. The organization of work groups remains limited to the household except for the introduction of cooperatives in recent years. In domestic institutions there has been an adaptation to living in a compact settlement with the emphasis on the bilateral kinship group.

[592] [476] [361]

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128 school included in Appendix 3 provide the data for an inductive analysis of conventions established by place. (These are compared and analyzed in Chapter 11.)

3. Timing of behavior: How does time enter into the consciousness of people's planning of activities? Time is a resource the use of which indicates the values assigned to activities and the relative power of people in bargaining positions. As such, it is a sensitive index to changes in strategies for allocating effort. (The sense of time is examined in reference to the scheduling of performances and interpreting the behavior of others in Chapter 12.)

The summary chapters provide the basis for testing the following hypotheses in the final chapter:

1. The stability of the society varies directly with:
   a. the degree of control over time and place
   b. the efficiency of its procedures for adjusting conflict
   c. the ability to validate behavioral innovations in terms of existing values
   d. the effectiveness of the techniques for transforming old power positions whose functions contradict changed social conditions into ceremonial posts
2. The lability of the society varies directly with:
   a. the gap between expectations and experience
   b. the degree of dissonance between traditional explanations and current interpretations of events

177 178 During the period I worked in Tzo?ontahal, the fundamental propositions on which behavior was predicated were being challenged. When old beliefs are waning, the question is whether the techniques developed to maintain the old conditions for equilibrium will persist in the future.

121 Fortes (1959:25) has pointed out that the "serious defect . . . of generalized enthnographic descriptions" is that they do not show "how ritual or belief is actually used by men and women to regulate their lives." My purpose is to indicate not only how belief and ritual serve the ends of regulation but also how beliefs are transformed in the process of performing ri-

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tuals and everyday tasks. The dialectic of change lies in the interpretations people make of new experience.

My method of study in the field was that of participant-observation combined with extensive eliciting. The assumption implicit in participant-observation that "seeing is believing" denies not only the symbolic significance of the acts one sees, but the relevant social features which are part of their definition of the situation. Rather than impose my own perceptions on the simplest field description, I relied on informants' statements about where, when, what, to whom, and how things were happening. In the case of formally programmed events, I elicited in advance in Tzeltal from two or more informants the sequence of activities as they expected them to transpire. I asked informants to segment the experience they were recounting in as minimal units as they had the descriptive vocabulary to do. This was done for instrumental activities—agriculture and pottery production —as well as ceremonial events in the life cycle and in religious and economic institutions. Implicit in the informants' segmentation of experience is the concept of "molar acts"—purposive and cognitive behavior.[3] The informant says for example that he "eats," not that he raises food to his mouth and chews it. The importance of eliciting descriptions in the performers' own language is indicated in the different way in which experience is lumped or split in Tzeltal. For example, when a curer takes a pulse he both "feels" and "hears" (*ʃʔawai*) the messages communicated by the blood. On the other hand, the verb "to eat" has several terms depending on what is being eaten (Berlin 1967). Their translations into Spanish do not make the same distinctions.

Observation of events in process provided not only a check for validity and completeness of the informants' accounts, but also a means of analyzing the process of change. The attempt to analyze divergence in actual behavior from normative statements in terms of Murdock's ideal-real dichotomy or Kroeber's value-culture and reality-culture is based on an assumption that there is a single perception of the way things ought to be done in

3. Psychologists such as Lewin (1951:72) and Tolman (1961:89) who have studied animal behavior have emphasized that the minimal unit of significant behavior is both purposive and cognitive. Most of my descriptions of behavior are limited to molar behavior, and the analysis of gesture systems is confined to those which have symbolic significance in a ceremonial context.

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12 a given culture, and that real behavior is a not always successful attempt to approximate those ideals. This formulation has proved inadequate because the actors have a number of ideas as to what appropriate behavior is, and the permissible range of behavior varies in each setting. In questioning informants about the divergences between the account I elicited prior to an event and the acts I observed, I was able to sort out these kinds of variation from those which indicate adaptation or social change.

• 121 Past events in the history of the community, selected, described, and interpreted by the participants in those events, provide a framework for analyzing structural and social change. Deviation from the norms is not in itself an index to social change, as Faron (1964:202ff.) and others have pointed out. The impetus to social change depends upon awareness of dissonance between the way things are done and social goals. Past events are assigned significance according to this awareness of changing social conditions. Lies about the past and guesses about the future are as important sources of data as history. When people lie about what they do or have done or will do, they lie in terms of the norms, and when they guess, they guess in terms of patterned expectations. These data are of significance in exploring the patterns underlying both formal and dynamic behavior.

829 171 121 Communities such as Tzo'ontahal represent a paradox in Latin America since the Indians pretend to be the same when they are changing, while non-Indians exaggerate the changes which have occurred. In Indian communities, the old cultural forms persist even while the community responds to the changing cues in the environment. The Indians are aware that the corporate community is an important resource base in easing their transition into regional and national networks, not on the bottom rung of the Ladino social ladder as when individuals leave the community, but in a competitively favorable position. Their insistence that they are following the customs of the ancestors is a means of keeping their boundaries intact and protecting themselves against external encroachment.

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pounds which they carry in a net bag on their backs with a tumpline. The sand which is mixed with the clay is found nearby. In preparing it for use, the clay has to be chopped with a hatchet and soaked. A temper for cooking pots is made of ground sandstone, called *baš*. This is found near the border of the neighboring town of Aguacatenango, and sometimes Indians of that town bring pieces which they exchange for a soup bowl or other small pottery item.

Variation in the color of the clay—it may be white, white mixed with yellow, true yellow, black, or blue-green—provides the basis for discerning its quality. The white clay is thought to be best since it doesn't break as much in firing. The preferred clay is very soft, and the women test deposits by feeling them with their hands.

The rhythm of work is regular. Children under three years of age climb on their mother's back or lap or sometimes stand by her side nursing. The women do not interrupt their work when this happens, although they may shift their body to accommodate the child. In the organization of work, there is no discussion of what is to be done or who will do it. Orders are given only to the young children. When the women are working, all motions which would require a break in activity are assigned to children who bring unfinished pots to be worked on and shoo away chickens or dogs. The standardization of production rhythm is evidenced in the uniformity in time required for each operation. Timing one potter's production of 10 *apastes* (soup bowls) on two different days, I found that she spent one hour and 10 minutes for each set, an average of 11 minutes per pot. Another woman made a *comal* (platter) in 26 minutes and a second one in 28 minutes. A pair of larger bowls produced by another woman took 15 minutes each.

The continuity in tradition of pottery production stems from a tightly organized behavioral schema with defined units of motion and stages of production. I follow Piaget in his definition of behavioral schema which Flavell (1963:54) has summarized as follows:

> Thus, an action sequence, if it is to constitute a schema, must have a certain cohesiveness and must maintain its identity as a quasi-stable, repeatable unit. It must possess component actions which are tightly

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interconnected and governed by a core meaning. However elementary the schema, it is a schema, precisely by virtue of the fact that the behavior components which it sets into motion form a strong whole, a recurrent and identifiable figure against a background of less tightly organized behavior.

Piaget (1952:244) has stated:

> It is due to the fact that schemata present this kind of structure that mental assimilation is possible and any object whatever can be incorporated or serve as aliment to a given schema.

This has significant implications for the continuity of tradition. The persistence of behavior depends on control in the organization of the work and in the training of new producers. As yet we do not have a means to measure the degree of organization or transfer of cognitive maps so that we can make comparisons across behavioral domains. The best source of data lies in the language which provides the cognitive mapping of the behavior. Table 10 provides a preliminary breakdown of the major stages and the distinct but similar action sequences which they include. Individual motions are replicated, in combination with other elements in the action sequence, to make up the component actions of different stages of production. The classification of actions implied in the Tzeltal verbs is shown in Table 11.

TABLE 10. Schedule of Activities in Pottery Production

Time	*Step*	*Activity*
1st day	1.	Yah tzes ya?bi ya?lel (Moisten; give water to clay and leave one day)
2d day	2.	Ya swotz lum sok hi? (Mix clay with sand)
	2.1	Yah sčičin hi? (Sift sand)
	2.2	Yah lihk swotz (Begin to mix)
	2.3	Sah sk'ap sok hi? yu?un ben pikil (Add sand until grainy)
	2.4	Yakto parte ma to yaiyehuk hi? (Put aside some that doesn't have enough sand)
	2.5	Ya?be ča? mel sk'ut • sok hi? (Give 2 passes, kneading with sand)
	2.6	Ya tzob ya swol (Collect it and make a ball)
	2.7	Ya sba sna?an ta suhk sč'ute (Go set it on a board)

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Chapter 10

Roles, Persons, and the Evaluation of Performance

Categories of roles, time, and place structure the expectations of social groups. The following three chapters summarize the preceding data according to these cognitive modes. Role behavior and system, which will be analyzed in the present chapter, provide only a partial explanation of social interaction. It is the "proliferation of behavior beyond roles" (Linn 1967) that is of greater interest for the study of change. Consideration of place and time helps to make role categories explicit and to structure behavior that exceeds role expectations. Changes in the use of space and time can reveal adjustments in role relations before change occurs. Space and time perspectives will therefore be analyzed in the following two chapters.

Cooperation is possible when actors not only take into account the responses of others but also anticipate those responses. Anticipations are based in part upon understanding of conventional roles, but the rights, duties, and obligations invested in roles do not encompass all of the relevant expectations which make coordinated social interaction possible. Individual repetitive behavior in role play gives an image of what kind of person each actor is, and the groups of individuals are further categorized as "kinds of people." As an example of the first kind of classification, we have persons characterized as bright, dull, honest, crafty, etc. The second set of categories puts different personalities in socioeconomic classes such as rich and poor, or in political classes such as radical and conservative. Tzo?ontahal, along with other small societies, emphasizes personality categories since it lacks well-defined socioeconomic or sociopolitical classes.

Social continuity depends upon events which call for the participation of groups defined by roles as well as on socialization processes that under-

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write beliefs that give coherence to these roles. Whether these events continue to be scheduled, and in the process of being presented "prove" the postulates upon which structural relationships are based, depends upon acceptance of the belief system.

A fundamental understanding governing behavior in Tzo?ontahal is that people ought to do as the ancestors did. Both "knowing" and "remembering" are expressed by the same verb, *ya sna,* while "learning" and "memorizing" are expressed by the verb *ya snop.* The behavioral corollary of this association between knowing and remembering is that one should accept the word of the ancestors as a guide to behavior. The importance of obeying one's elders as the intermediaries in the transfer of ways of behaving from one generation to another is stressed in child training and is restated in the prayers uttered at ritual performances enacting the ways of the ancestors.

In this chapter I shall consider the integration of behavior based on roles, personality, codes of morality and etiquette, and the ideological and behavorial changes which are disturbing this system.

The Role System

Coherence of the role system in Tzo?ontahal depends upon (1) similar premises for role recruitment and continuity in transition from one role to another; (2) alternation in office and linkage of separate domains by special offices; and (3) standardized etiquette of role interaction. Uniform standards of evaluation of performance provide a sanctioning system ensuring social integration.

Recruitment and transition. Relative and chronological age combined with consideration of sex are the fundamental principles for assigning role categories. The age principle categorizes the entire town in role pairs of respect and deference. Sex differentiation is not made in children until after infancy. An infant of either sex is called *?unin,* also a term for the new moon, until the age of eight months. The sex of parent rather than that of the child is designated: a woman calls her offspring *?alal* whether boy or girl, and a man calls his offspring *niẽ'an.* Sex distinction is

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Evaluations of Behavior

121 The evaluation of individual behavior is related to role categories, but is not circumscribed by them. Some behavior is universally prescribed, and judgments include all categories of people. This is particularly notable in behavior related to the moral code. Etiquette requires an ability to respond appropriately not only to individual "others" in a setting, but to a plurality of "others" categorized in special roles. This ability to respond to others in a setting and to anticipate what their responses will be has been characterized as "complex syntactic behavior" by Hebb and Thompson (1954). Analysis of complex syntactic behavior must go beyond the summation of dyadic interaction within role sets to exploring the shared values and norms on which judgments are made and expectations predicated.

Judgments of behavior are cast in terms of (1) morality, or the acceptance of prescribed behavior, (2) etiquette, or the acceptance of preferred actions, and (3) competence, or the effectiveness of performance. In gossip, in court cases, in allocating roles of responsibility, in judging professional competence, the assessment of a person is made with reference to his action in past incidents. A person is what he does, and the evaluation [192] of a person's repetitive acts (called *yobra* incorporating the Spanish loan [193] word *obra* and the Tzeltal possessive form *y*) encompasses a personal history.

196 *Morality*. Judgments concerning the moral value of a person are 577 summarized in terms of states of the heart. A person who behaves well is said to be of "very good heart" in contrast to someone of "another heart." A good man is "one-hearted" if he takes other people into account. The description may be put in the negative, as "one who does not know how to seek disputes." The expression "two-hearted" is comparable to what English speakers mean by "two-faced."

577 Violations of the moral code are differentiated from violations of the 626 code of convention or etiquette in that the former are said to indicate lack of fear and the latter are said to indicate lack of shame. These two definitions of social transgression point to the major socializing technique of the community: promoting a sense of shame and fear.

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Chapter 11

Ordering Behavior by Places

121 554 People act out roles in a space and time matrix that provides the cues for appropriate behavior. Place is a means of patterning three structural dimensions of role: sex, age, and relative prestige. In societies characterized by multiplex relationships, Gluckman (1962:35–36n.) has emphasized the importance of the setting in establishing what role the individual is playing. One's selection of a particular role from the many possible relationships tying people together is supported by observation of official terms of address and reference in these settings. In Tzo?ontahal, the use of place as 554 a designation of role is even more specific since each person occupying a role is given a special place within the setting.

554 342 368 519 The social domains, or fields of activity where major systems of roles are defined in Tzo?ontahal, include the house, the cabildo, the church, and the school. Segmentary role relations are limited to the clinic, the corn-grinding mill, and the store. The house has retained its importance as a ceremonial locus not only for life crisis rituals but also for initiating new officials into the civil and religious hierarchies. The institutional buildings [361] grouped around the plaza—the church, the cabildo, the schoolhouse, the clinic, the mill, and the cooperative store—are the meeting ground for outside representatives of national or supra-local agents and townspeople. These provide the settings in which behavioral adjustments to internal changes and to external standards can be viewed.

The Concept of Space

772 361 Relevant social space is conceived of as a square. The square shape of houses, of the offering hole for the house sacrifice, of the corn field, and of the planting pattern for corn conforms to a notion of the world as a

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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Chapter 12

Ordering Behavior by Time

The structuring of social acts depends upon shared understandings about how others use time as well as space. Scheduling of activities in the daily and annual cycles minimizes decision-making by individuals and provides a set of expectations that facilitates cooperation.

The Sense of Time

The abstract noun for time, *k'alal*, is derived from the word for day, *k'al*. Time began when k'oš, the youngest son of Our Grandmother the Moon, took the sun from his elder brother and carried it around the world so that there was a succession of day and night (Chapter 8). Time past, (*name?iš*), is a general state of being in which the ancestors lived. The future is at best a recapitulation of the past.

People judge time by the position of the sun during the day, and by that of the moon or the stars at night. In winter, the appearance of the group of stars called "the sandal" and in summer of the "seven stars" indicates two o'clock in the morning. The appearance of Venus, called "the big star," announces the arrival of dawn.

In addition to these natural indicators, there are three timepieces in the town—in the school, the parish house, and the store. In the morning the policemen check the time with the lay sisters or the schoolmaster before mounting the tower of the church to strike the bell at eight o'clock, the time for rounding up the schoolchildren, at noon, the time for closing the town hall and the church, and at five in the afternoon, the time for evening prayers.

Despite bells and nature, however, people are not very accurate in calcu-

8: Hunt E-4,5 (1958)1962 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The Problem

121 The aim of this study is two-fold. First, it attempts to offer an analytical description of the process of development of the household unit in two Tzeltal villages; second, it explores the internal factors which, in two societies with the same cultural background, are associated with differences in certain features of this same institution.

121 177 Most studies of Middle American communities explain variation among societies which are historically related as a result of acculturation pressures since conquest times, which have altered or destroyed the native institutions to the point of nullifying the traditional loyalties of the society and its system of reciprocal obligations. That is, these studies deal with variation which emerges from the external system (i.e., the society at large to which the village community is a part, this being the local Ladino society, the municipio, the nation, etc.) rather than with differences which emerge from variation in the internal system (i.e., structural pressures which originate from within the social 121 milieu of the community). In this study, we have selected two communities which stand in essentially the same relation to

121 the external system, with the aim of investigating internal causation.

[177] The two communites are equally acculturated, measured according to the number of material traits of western introduction, the influence of Catholicism, the degree of Spanish borrowing in the native tongue, the attitudes towards the outside world and the type of relations with this world. Both communities share the same historical past, the language, and the same cultural traditions. Both communities are good examples of Wolf's ideal type of "corporate peasant communities," and both are located in compactly settled villages, under the same ecological conditions.

128 The data to support this treatment of the problem is presented in chapter ii. The third chapter deals mainly with the common aspects of the over-all social structure of the two villages, that is, the larger social frame in which domestic groups or households function as units.

Chapter iv discusses the differences and similarities in the organization of production of the two villages, compares the immediate social effects of the differences, and prepares the ground for the later evaluation of these economic factors in terms of their effects in the developmental cycle of the domestic group.

[592] The organization of production is shown to be tied up with the domestic group directly, in the sense that the two major means of production, land and labor, are controlled by the household. Thus, the aspects of the organization of production which are treated throughout this work are: (1) sex and age composition and size of work groups, and (2) rights to land, animals, houses and objects

128 and the organization of the domestic units. While analyzing the evidence I did not expect to explain variation in terms of only one domain of social activity, thus, the economic frame became a reference point to handle data rather than the axis or core of
121 the description. Specific hypotheses for points of comparison
128 which I expected to explore are found under the following headings:

1. Patterned choices of residence and residence sponsor for all productive individuals:
   a) If only men were important producers, and rights in the property followed an agnatic line, then residence was expected to be patri-virilocal and residence sponsors to be only males.
   b) If women were as important producers as men, and rights over property followed a bilateral pattern, then residence was expected to be bi-local and residence sponsors to be both males and females.
2. Choice of marriage partner and the characteristics of the marriage transaction and relationship:
   a) The bride-price would have more importance in the patri-virilocal setting than in the bi-local one, but the importance of women as producers in the bi-local setting was expected to increase the value of the bride-price in the case in which the chosen residence for a particular couple was patri-virilocal.

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b) The relationship of the wife to the husband was hypothesized to be one of equality and interdependence in the community in which women shared the economic burden of the household, and one of inequality and dependency in the community in which only men were producers or "bread-winners."

c) A bilateral system of holding and inheriting property was expected to be more likely to correlate with equal status (i.e., equivalent rights) of the sexes in other aspects of the social life, while a unilateral system of holding and transmitting property was expected to correlate with a differential status for the sexes in other aspects of the social life.

3. Variation in the productive role of men and women was expected to be reflected in the socialization of children of different sexes, and also in the affective content of the roles of siblings, in-laws, parents and other members of the domestic group.

4. The distribution of rights and duties within the domestic group with special reference to the distribution of status and jural authority along age and sex lines:

a) Producers who held rights to the means of production were expected to have more authority than producers who were dependent laborers.

b) Producers were expected to hold a higher status than non-producers or less efficient producers.

• 121 128 5. The spatial propinquity of kinship-linked households.

a) If cooperative work groups and reciprocal obligations of labor outside the domestic unit were organized along male lines, then it was expected that propinquity between agnatically related households would have been the result.

b) If cooperative work groups and reciprocal obligations of labor outside the domestic unit were organized along both male and female lines, then it was expected that agnatically linked households and matrilineally linked households would have had equal degree of territorial proximity.

6. The social propinquity (i.e., relative frequencies and intensity of interaction) of kinship linked households.

a) When the community work groups were composed of male kinsmen and when residence was based on patrivirolocal proximity and inheritance followed an agnatic line, then higher interaction between agnatically linked households would have been the concomitant.

b) When community work groups were composed of both male and female kinsmen, and when inheritance was bilateral and residence bi-local, then interaction with linked related households would have followed a bilateral pattern.

8: Hunt E-4,5 (1958)1962 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

Statement on Method and Objectives

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128 I do not attempt to set a correlation which is going to be valid for the world at large, but only for the historical, ecological and cultural conditions fulfilled by these two communities as well as by similar villages in the Chiapas Highlands. I do not reject the possibility that under similar conditions, some other society in the world may show similar patterns of variation, but this is considered to be an empirical question. Obviously, my set of hypotheses would generate only local correlations which require further testing, before they can be held as generalizations of more universal nature.

000 Restricted generalizations are, in my view, one of the lacks in the field of anthropology. We have derived "laws" about Society (with capital letters) from very scanty evidence collected from ethnographic publications which we cannot be sure are comparable. The laws which we have derived from such works have become, sometimes, axioms which bias our whole way of thinking, and which we transmit from one generation of anthropologists to another as "folk" transmit their belief system and their traditions.

There are several ways of breaking through this barrier (and I suggest it has to be done before anthropology becomes a serious comparative discipline). One necessary step is to specify our techniques and the evidence available in support of our statements for each particular instance. Another step is to unify our methodology and our taxonomies, or if not possible, state as clearly as possible the ones we do use. A third step would be to

600 identify in every case the social units which are being dealt with, a fourth to delimit the socio-cultural "cells" which can be treated as discrete units for comparison, and finally, and perhaps most important of all, we should try to specify the range of our generalizations. Our science is at the historical point in which it would be more important to attest the differences between human societies than to claim the universality of their similarities.

Radcliffe-Brown (1948) dedicated a whole book to the discussion of these same problems, and some of his students (Eggan, for example), have insistently taught this to their students in class and to other anthropologists in print. It is unfortunate, however, that so very few anthropologists are willing to deal with small scale generalizations, and prefer to present their findings as statements on the nature of society rather than as statements on the nature of particular societies.

128 The methods and techniques employed for the preparation of data for presentation, analyzing the results, and comparing the two communities, are specified in the respective sections of the text. The general methodological frame for the study is that of a controlled comparison (Eggan, 1954) at the intra-cultural level.

Definitions

• 121 The definitions of the social units compared will be extensively given in the corresponding sections of the text. The same will be true for the taxonomic terms employed.

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By the economic system I mean the subsistence pattern of the society: the system of production and the rules for the allocation of the goods produced; the rights of individuals, particular social groups or classes within a society, over the acquisition, monopoly, distribution, or consumption of goods and services, these being means of production, scarce goods or luxuries; rights over receiving hospitality; work exchange; and others.

The definition of the economic system includes, therefore, the system of holding and transmitting property (land, animals, or other commodities), the division of labor by the sexes, by age or by any other criteria, including the control of the labor of individuals or groups, and the market system and rules of economic exchange, if any, of the society studied.

By jural authority I mean "legitimate or constituted authority." "A person holds jural authority over others when, according to the stated norms of his group, he has the right to give them orders and they have the duty to obey" (Homans and Schneider, 1955:21).

Power and authority are defined as a relationship of super- and sub-ordination in which the superordinate member can originate activity for the subordinate member, who in turn cannot originate activity for him, except as an asymetrical response. As different from jural authority, it is measured not in terms of the "stated norms or laws of the group," but in terms of the extent to which the superordinate person can effectively carry out his wishes, and to the extent that the subordinate person carries into

8: Hunt E-4,5 (1958)1962 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

#12 practice the suggestions, orders or activity originated by the superordinate one.

Sanction as utilized as Radcliffe-Brown is, "a reaction on the part of the society or of a considerable number of its members to a mode of behavior which is thereby approved (positive sanctions) or disapproved (negative sanctions)" (1952:205). By supernatural sanction, I mean sanctions that according to the society have a metaphysical origin (although they are experienced as physical or social in nature), explained and accepted within the traditional ideological system of such society.

In my use of the concepts of status and role I have followed, as far as my understanding allows it, Nadel's definitions (Nadel, 1957, chapter ii).

By pattern I mean "an orderly distribution of relationships exclusively on the grounds of their similarity and dissimilarity." Such patterns are abstracted from distributions of particular relationships (Nadel, 1957:15).

I do not distinguish between social structure and social organization. I define the social structure as being an elegant and parsimonious synthesis of both the models which the carriers of a culture have about their own system of relationships, and the patterns of relationships which the anthropologist can elicit from the actual behavior, but are not verbalized as norms by the members of the society. Social structure, then, I treat as a conceptual tool to handle: (1) the static normative relationships; (2) the dynamic process of actual interaction; and (3) the relational features of both as far as they are performed by the society

8: Hunt E-4,5 (1958)1962 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

•121 and can be empirically described by the observer in the form of a model.

I do not pretend these to be always the best possible definitions of any of these concepts. I find that in the course of my training as a social anthropologist, I came to think of these concepts in such terms, and in working my problems they became the most comfortable conceptual frame. I do feel, however, that in explicitly defining my use, I solve the main problem of communication between author and reader.

Sources of Data

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122 The area in which the communities selected for this study are located have been under intensive multi-disciplinary study for more than ten years. Mexican anthropologists of the National Museum and the National Indian Institute have done surveys and community descriptions on their own and under the direction of Robert Redfield and Sol Tax, of the University of Chicago. (See bibliography.) The University of Chicago Chiapas Project, now in its second stage and seven years old, has covered the area with a fine-tooth comb, and prepared a three-volume report which contains information on geography (soils, rain distribution, physical character, water supply, etc.), botany, linguistics, social anthropology, archeology, ethnohistory and other related fields (see McQuown et al., 1959).

There is a wealth of primary sources for the area, but, unfortunately, there has never been up to the present a careful analysis of their content, although they have been extensively quoted by modern authors with different purposes in mind.

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Relations with the Outside World

Amatenango and Aguacatenango can be considered independent societies for the purposes of describing them, in terms of their internal features. Each one can be analyzed in terms of "the entities that compose it and their interrelationships" (Redfield, 1955:19). They have their own ecological adaptations and a set of cultural norms that preserve their style of life and justify it at the ideological level. They have their own "personality" and "life history." In a sense, they are those unique wholes which Redfield defined in "The Little Community" (1955): "a small settlement of people self-contained and distinct from all other" (Redfield, 1955:113). But because this is so, a description of their general outlines of life would not be complete without indicating their place in the larger society of which they form a part.

The Indian villages of Chiapas, such as Amatenango and Aguacatenango and many others, form part of a world larger than themselves, an extremely complex one, both socially and culturally.

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On the one hand, the Indian villages live within a local society which also contains settlements of Ladinos, local Mexicans who have a separate cultural tradition and social organization. On the other hand, although the Indian villages and the Ladinos' settlements are two quite distinct social types, one cannot be understood without the other.

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Mexico is a multiple society, characterized by two distinct cultural traditions, each significantly different in the extent of integration. Only part of the population of the country

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Aguacatenango

The Social Setting of the Villages

Introduction

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121 The villages of Aguacatenango and Amatenango can best be described as corporate peasant communities, following Eric Wolf (1955: 452-71).

First of all, the villages are small, independent social systems, with clearly defined geographic and social boundaries, "in relation to both outsiders and insiders" (Wolf, 1955:456).

The Land

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423 In the spatial dimension, the main characteristic of the villages is that they lay claim to a territory, a land base over which they hold exclusive rights of usufruct, and which has clearly demarked geographical dimensions. The rights over this territory are communal rights, every villager being a co-owner of the community territory, in the sense that membership in the village gives to a man the rights of usufruct of land within the village boundaries.

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[174] We do not know what the characteristic features of the pre-hispanic land tenure system of the Tzeltal-Tzotzils were. At the beginning of the Spanish occupation of the area, the Indians were relocated in villages and assigned to a particular encomendero and encomienda. (The encomienda was an institution by which a Spanish lord was assigned a number of villagers from whom he had the right to collect services and tribute.) At the same time, the villages were allotted land of two kinds: municipal, administered by the town officials and used to pay taxes and tribute to

8: Hunt E-4,5 (1958)1962 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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666 754 784 Therefore, the threat of supernatural sanction is powerful as a communal weapon against social deviation.

621 We can see, then, that the structural dynamics of village life are composed of opposing forces. On the one hand, there is a tendency toward egalitarianism which is expressed in the formal organization of political power and the economic life of the village as a unit. On the other hand, there is a tendency toward deviation from the economic norms which is repressed and expressed in the belief system and the sanctioning of deviants. (Obviously, if people would not tend to deviate from the egalitarian norm, witchcraft "specialization" would not be necessary!)

121 There is no society in the world which does not possess criteria for social differentiation. Some criteria are, by nature, universal: the basic biological differences between persons (age, sex) or psychological skills (intelligence, mental deficiency). Some other criteria are culturally determined (age-grade, class, wealth and so on). Even among societies in which the life conditions preclude social stratification, such as the Siriono, some few cultural criteria of individual social differentiation are always present. When I suggest that Amatenango and Aguacatenango tend to be communities which reinforce homogeneity at the economic, political, and cultural levels, I am far from indicating that individuals are not evaluated differentially. In every social situation, even meeting on the street, Amatenangueros and Aguacatecos make social distinctions and determine their relative position with respect to each other: one would call a

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CHAPTER V

KINSHIP AND LIFE CYCLE

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The Kinship Terminology

The comparison of the kinship terminology utilized by the two communities will be presented within the methodological frame of componential analysis.

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This body of analysis derives from (1) Kroeber's initial discussion in 1909, where he set forth the eight linguistic categories which make up for the distinctions in the different kinship system (Lowie did some rearrangement of these categories in his article on Relationship Terms for the 14th Edition of the Encyclopedia Britannica [1929], and Murdock [1949] re-classified them into major and minor, biological and social. In Eggan's revision of Lowie's article the same position of 1929 is maintained [Lowie and Eggan, 1961]); and (2) the analysis of paradigms in linguistics, especially Jacobson (1936) and Harris (1948).

The method has been utilized successfully, although somewhat differently, by several anthropologists, and in some cases was the result of "independent invention." Davis and Warner (1937) employed it in a theoretical statement about seven societies: Erse, English, Kariera, Chinese, Roman, Arunta and Hawaiian. Leach (1945) used a similar analysis in deriving Jinghpaw kin

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121 terminology from seven axioms. Goodenough (1951, 1956a, 1957) worked out a theoretical frame and its application to Trukese data and Pehrson's Lapp kinship data. Lounsbury (1956) analyzed Morgan's Pawnees schedule mainly as a linguistic exercise in the semantic aspects of the method. Romney (1957), Romney and Metzger (1957) and Romney and Epling (1958) discussed some of the relationships between operational principles, and presented a substantive analysis of data utilizing this frame, on the Zuni and Kariera. In Europe, a close approximation to the componential analysis method was applied by Meeussen and LeCoste (1955) on the Ngwana, and Vansina (1957) on the Bushoong.

121 128 In this paper the method is utilized only briefly, mainly because the presentation of the kinship terminology in a paradigmatic form simplifies the comparison between Amatenango and Aguacatenango (see Figs. 7 and 8). I do not claim, as have some of the previous authors, that the method generates an analysis of denotative semantics, nor that it is a truer picture of the whole kinship system.

128 601 I discuss the consanguineal address terminology because it is the only one used regularly by the villagers, and does not differ, except for the exclusion of two or three affinal terms, from the reference terminology.

121 The universe of kinship is a discrete unit only for the anthropologist. In some societies in the world, the number of individuals who receive the treatment of kinsmen is arbitrarily limited with some criteria other than the two basic biological elements of copulation and birth, and the social concomitants

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descent and affinal relations derived therefrom. But for some other societies, the number of persons and the distance (biological or social) between people to which kinship terms can be applied is infinite. Furthermore, some societies do not distinguish between the criteria of kinship and territoriality in defining group relationships, or the application of kinship terms. Among the Nuer, for example, an individual thinks of distance between lineages in terms of both descent links and territorial propinquity. Among the Chamula of Chiapas, the word for kinsman (meaning my family) and the word for co-villagers (other Chamulas) is the same. Ibmonyms do not necessarily imply that the people connect the two concepts expressed in the same word, nor that there is a single concept to cover both, but in the Nuer as well as the Chamula case, this is so.

The way in which the kinship terminology is applied in Amatenango and Aguacatenango suggests an infinite extension of the kinship terminology into the universe of non-kinsmen. For this reason, we will indicate how each kinship term is applied by the natives for "real kinsmen" (that is, to those recognized by the natives as such, and genealogically connected through birth and/or marriage) and to other villagers by extension or analogy. This becomes an important distinction because the kinship terminology is not, as anthropologists assume for most other cases, a terminological system to isolate, on the basis of linguistics, the kinsmen from the non-kinsmen. In Amatenango and Aguacatenango, the so-called kinship terminology is both kinship terminology and a terminological system to indicate social

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592 independent domestic groups: nuclear and compound households. The nuclear household is composed of a nuclear family: a man, his wife and their unmarried children. The compound household is made up of two or more nuclear families, or one nuclear family and the remnants of other nuclear households.

184 592 The characteristic type of residential unit in both communities is the nuclear household because it is the most frequent residential arrangement in terms of total frequencies (70 per cent in Aguacatenango and 72 per cent in Amatenango; the difference in percentage between the two communities is not statistically significant).

• 121 591 The Method for the Analysis of Residence

Murdock's book, Social Structure (1949), opened a new road for students interested in the problem of residence taxonomy because, although it was an outstanding contribution to the field, the work obviously suffered from the ambiguity of the residence data presented in the anthropological reports on which it was based. The classification of residence types, as utilized in the past, was shown to be defective for the purposes of modern research. The terminology of the field was too all-embracing, ambiguous in meaning, and diffuse in application. Murdock himself was well aware of this problem, and suggested a preliminary revision of the terminology (Murdock, 1949:16-18), but the subject of residence types came under suspicion.

As a result of the controversies aroused by the subject, Murdock (1955) wrote an article wherein he pointed out the

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•121 591 necessity for a new typology of residence, and suggested two criteria to be utilized in future research: (1) the usefulness of considering the individual's life cycle and the variations of residence that accompany it; (2) the need for understanding the individual's goals in making residential choices.

Among the British social anthropologists concerned with methods for the analysis of social structure, Meyer Fortes (1949) independently of Murdock, approached the same problem of residential analysis in a different fashion. He felt that co-variations in residence choices in time and space were measurable and were susceptible to statistical analysis. Only through such quantitative analysis, Fortes suggested, could one construct the socio-structural abstraction from the "concrete reality" of everyday social life.

Fortes applied his ideas in the specific description of two cases of residence variation among the Ashanti, and his results prove useful not only for the analysis of residence and types of residence groupings, but also for understanding the development of the small social units (e.g., the domestic groups) of a community, and for an approach to problems arising from the study of diversified social groups which are undergoing change. Goody and others, using Fortes' methodology and techniques (Goody, ed.: 1958) with admirable skill, have developed Fortes' initial idea and have tested it with field data from several societies in the world.

Among the American anthropologists, the Goodenough (1956b)-Fischer (1950, 1958) controversy has been highly fruitful in calling the attention of anthropologists to the need for a new

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591 frame for the analysis of residence. The articles of Goodenough and Fischer showed how two investigators can arrive at totally discrepant conclusions about the frequency of different "types" of residence in the same community with the same census methods but with ambiguous definitions of residence patterns.

Fortes (1958) considered this controversy the result of overlooking the time factor in the census analysis, and he thought that "the source of the apparent discrepancies is the neglect by both investigators of the developmental dimension" (Fortes 1958: 3) of which he spoke years before (1949).

The result of the Goodenough-Fischer controversy is the publication of Fischer's new typology, a typology which will avoid the ambiguities of the old one, by offering a different set of criteria for classification.

Four main propositions are given by Fischer (1958), as follows:

1. To define marital residence in terms of individuals rather than couples.
2. To report residence for all individuals in a community, not just married ones.
3. To define a person's residence in terms of the composition of the household or other residential reference group at the time of his entry rather than in terms of its current composition.
4. To specify the level of social integration of the residential reference group: household, sub-community or community.

The first proposal is concerned with two sets of terms current in anthropological literature and used interchangeably in most cases: (a) patrilocal and virilocal; (b) matrilocal and uxorilocal.

In the new typology (see Fig. 13), matrilocal and patrilocal refer to residence with the individual's parental generation, while

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• 121 591 Typology of individual residence in terms of immediate sponsor

Type		Kin Sponsor
I.	Neolocal	Self
II.	Consanguineolocal	Any consanguineal relative
	a. Patrilocal	Father or male patrilineal relative of ascending generation
	b. Matrilocal	Mother or female matrilineal relative of ascending generation
	c. Avunculocal	Mother's brother or male matrilineal relative of ascending generation
	d. Amitalocal	Father's sister or female patrilineal relative of ascending generation
	e. Fratilocal	Brother or male parallel cousin of own generation
	f. Sororilocal	Sister or female parallel cousin of own generation
	g. Filiolocal	Son or son's son
	h. Filialocal	Daughter or daughter's daughter
	i. Nepotilocal	Sister's son or other male matrilineal relative of descending generation
	j. Heterolocal	Any other consanguineal relative (the number of cases will normally be small, and the exact relative could be specified)
III.	Affinolocal	Any affinal relative (almost invariably spouse)
	a. Virilocal (women only)	Husband
	b. Uxorilocal (men only)	Wife

(When children live with their parents, a sponsor cannot be ranked in importance. Such a situation is classified as parentilocal.)

Fig. 13.--Fischer's Residence Typology

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121 591 uxorilocal and virilocal refer to residence with the spouse of either sex, i.e., residence with affinal relatives of Ego's own generation.

The second proposal emphasizes the already established need for statistical analysis of relevant census materials, as Murdock and Fortes had recommended in their previous statements. Marriage is certainly a crucial element in determining choices of residence. The reason is clear: marriage leads to an actual or incipient split in one or both of the spouses' natal families and households. But there are other social factors, such as, for example, place of birth or the economic role of the individual, which are equally important in making residential choices, and it is a matter of considerable interest to understand the rules that organize residential settings for unmarried--as well as for married--people in a community.

The fourth proposal brings out the importance of the size of the residential reference group. Sociologists interested in the study of small groups have indicated the importance of size of the group for variations in social interaction.[1] Anthropologists usually deal with communities which fit perfectly the sociological definition of "small groups." These communities are units of social activity characterized by face-to-face interaction, a common set of norms controlling the behavior of all individual members, group solidarity, and a particular system of

[1] Articles dealing with the subject are, among others, Simmel (1950), Bales and Borgatta (1955), Hare et al. (1957), Mills (1954).

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121 591 internal status differentiation.[1] Residential groups, consequently, are "small groups"; moreover, they are reference groups of the membership type (Merton, 1949). It is obvious, therefore, that the alignment of kinsmen residing in such a small reference group as the household, will clearly lead to differences in type and frequency of social interaction compared with the interaction of individuals residentially spread over a neighborhood or a whole community.

Fischer's set of procedures provides a frame for studying such variations, by describing residential alignments in terms of "at least three levels of social interaction": the household, the sub-community and the community. The definition of residence including group size enables us to understand clearly the dependency of other social variables on the spatial arrangements of individuals, and it permits us to pinpoint the correlations, attaching them to the corresponding levels to which they belong.

Fischer proposed then in classifying a person's residence that we should utilize the concept of "sponsorship." Sponsor is a relative "who lives in a given residence group and who possesses a special responsibility for the person's residence there" (Fischer, 1958:512).

Raulet (1959) has made on valid criticism of Fischer's typology, by pointing out that one of the problems attached to the concept of "sponsorship" is that sometimes a whole residence group can be a sponsor for a particular individual.

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[1] For the definition of "small groups" see Strodbeck (1954) and Homans (1950).

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591 Another principal criticism of Fischer's typology attaches to his third proposal, which, as Fortes has made clear, disregards the developmental cycle of the households in which individuals reside.

The two approaches, the "developmental" approach and the "sponsorship" approach, are not contradictory but complementary to each other. Each offers a useful framework for a satisfactory analysis. The differences are merely differences in emphasis.

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591 In the analysis of residence in this paper, a combination of both types of analysis are utilized with some modifications which will allow me to describe the results in terms of the norms of residence and the real patterns or distributions, and to elicit the rules that govern residence choices for individuals. The section deals, therefore, both with techniques and method of analysis, and with particular hypotheses.

Aguacatenango Residence

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The Norms

The people of Aguacatenango believe that a newly married couple should live with the boy's parents until they have proved to be successful in procreating and raising, through the weaning period, one or more children. While the young couple lives within the parental compound of the husband, he should work under the direction of his father, under whose direct authority he should act, and every one of whose decisions he should obey because his father lo está manteniendo (is supporting him), and the son está bajo su poder (is under the father's power).

128 the postulated correlations between residence and some other factor are tested with simple statistical procedures: Chi Square (applying Yate's correction) with the level of significance. The unit of the population is indicated in each table, together with the sample size.

128 59 183 The norms for residence that we call the generalized pattern are shown to be carried out in practice, by the analysis of census materials. This analysis allows us to display some of the complexities of an elaborate set of residence rules offering certain forms of "first choice of residence," but in addition shows how the norms also offer numerous alternatives for specific cases and particular individual goals and problems.

128 121 This technique of analysis also permits us to control the normative statements about the "customs" and the "ways" of the people, which are provided by the informants. Such statements reflect the ideal patterns, which any member of the community can verbalize. One of the tasks of the anthropologist is to discover those patterns of behavior which are practiced by a society, but not consciously expressed, because they reveal some of the real dynamics of the social group, in a way that formal statements of an ideal nature cannot, when described in isolation. But the anthropologist is also responsible, as Bohannan has pointed out, for presenting his data in such a fashion as to not do violence to the visualization that the carriers of a culture have about their own life models. A presentation of a social model that would be both parsimonious and elegant from a scientific point of view, and close to the ethno-model, is a necessity in a field in

128 which epistemological discussions have been, up to the present
121 time, if not totally avoided, dismissed for lack of a single frame of reference within which they could be tackled.

591 [183] Residence Patterns of Newly Married Individuals in Compound Households

The stated norm of residence for a newly married couple is shown to be followed in practice.

In 1956, there was a total of fifty-six compounds in the community, and forty-eight contained newly married couples. The emphasis on patrivirilocality was strong.

TABLE 6

AGUACATENANGO RESIDENCE: NEWLY MARRIED COUPLES IN COMPOUNDS, 1956

Residence	Number of Couples	Number of Households	Per Cent
Patri-virilocal	47	36	78
Patri-uxorilocal	13	12	22
Total	60	48	100

These compounds represented 27 per cent of the total number of households in the community. Between the censuses of 1956 and 1958, a large number of compound households became nuclear, changed composition or disappeared, and during the same period of two years, other nuclear households became compound. In spite of the movement in individual households, the percentages of residence did not vary significantly.

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582 richer family marrying a woman of a poorer family" (Tax, 1953:
171 202). "In only 13 of the 36 cases [reported by Tax] were the two families nearly at the same economic level" (Tax, 1953:203). Also, "exceptional but not uncommon" is that a rich man will marry his daughter to a poorer man and rather than loosing a worker, he gains another. In contrast with Panajachel is the case of Chichicastenango (a neighbor to the north) in that, "the time of women in Chichicastenango has until recently not had cash value. (Increased weaving for the tourist trade may change this.) Therefore, in Chichicastenango as opposed to Panajachel there is encouragement to marry within the same wealth class" (Tax, 1953: 206).

128 Affective Relations Within the Household

We have shown how some of the relationships within the domestic group are affected by the patterns of economic activity. In this section, we will discuss them in a different context; rather than in terms of interaction, we shall discuss them in terms of sentiment (Homans, 1950).

•121 Homans (1950) has shown how intimacy and affection increase with increased association and interaction, but he also indicated that a relationship of formal respect and asymmetrical authority discourages confidence and affective ties (1950:247) or "at any rate, the fact of authority seems to turn the relationship into an ambiguous, or as the psychoanalyst would say, an ambivalent one" (1950:244).

121 In both Amatenango and Aguacatenango, this type of ambiva-
593 lence is present in the father-son relation, as we indicated in

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previous pages. Homans points out that this ambiguity is neither accidental, nor "natural," but "tends to reappear in societies all over the world in which the family is an important productive unit and the father is the boss" (Homans, 1950:245).

The relation son-mother, however, ought to be different in the two communities. In Aguacatenango, a mother has less and less authority over a son the older he grows. While a man is a child, she controls him without discussion, but as he becomes more and more mature, his role as a man, a superior, makes for conflicting social power. On the one hand the mother is older, and therefore has more authority. Yet on the other hand, she is a female, and therefore the son (a male) has more authority. The balancing of authority between the two cancels it out. A son can, if he wishes, completely alienate himself from his mother. She has not much power to punish or sanction him, no property she can withdraw from him. If he misbehaves, she can only try to advise him or complain to her husband. On the other hand, the absence of authority between the two makes the relationship highly affectionate. If a son stays at home or close-by after marriage, the interaction mother-son is frequent and friendly. In many cases the mother will make a coalition with the son against her husband, defending the younger man. Mothers tend to be very partial towards the judgement of their sons' behavior, and sons obtain what they want from the fathers through their mothers.

In Amatenango, the mother has more economic power over the son. She can give him cash for extra needs, and he can inherit land or a house from her, as well as from his father.

producers for the particular domestic groups, seems to be the originator of bilateral increase in interaction, while it could be equally well said that the bilaterally settled neighborhood in Amatenango is a result of the selection of household personnel along both males' and females' kinsmen lines.

J. Nash (1960) interpreted the bilaterality of Amatenango as being a result of the residence pattern. Nash assumes that kinship and territoriality are two mutually exclusive principles of association, while in reality they are not so. On the one hand, if territoriality (or the spatial placement of the individual in the household) is determined by kinship alignments, both would tend to be symmetrical; on the other hand, even if they are not mutually inclusive (which in this case they are), both are emphasized simultaneously in the same set of choices, so that the principles of spatial proximity and kinship proximity, although independent variables, are concomitant in their effects. Moreover, Nash found out that activities which did not involve immediate reciprocity followed the kinship line exclusively without reference to territorial propinquity.

The danger of assuming that "because of propinquity alone certain (kinship) relationships are emphasized over others" (Nash, J., 1960:130) becomes evident in a larger theoretical context. If residential propinquity tends to set up interaction along bilateral lines, the opposite, residential dispersion, would tend to emphasize interaction among unilineal relatives. Then, all lineally organized societies ought to be organized in exogamous settlements, or in a dispersed hamlet pattern, and all large concentrations of

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121 population, such as an endogamous village, ought to be bilateral societies. This is obviously not so. Even if we assume that our statement is a reductio ad absurdum of Nash's point, there is evidence in the immediate vicinity of Amatenango that other villages, equally concentrated in population, with the same physical setting, are not bilateral. J. Nash (1960) compared Amatenango and Aguacatenango in a few paragraphs, and she felt that the evidence supported her theory. However, the data available to her was very unreliable. She quoted a preliminary report of Metzger written before the residence analysis of the community was carried to completion, which contained only impressionistic observations, and gave the impression that residence was neolocal and that agnatically related households were widely spread within the community, which we have shown in chapter vi not to be true.

Moreover, Aguacatenango not only has patri-virilocality, but corporate patrilines. The name-groups in Aguacatenango form localized agnatic descent groups (which we above called the localized clusters of agnatically linked households). The people belonging to a name-group are recognized as relatives or, in Tzeltal, "those who are my family on my father's side." Those individuals have one last name (Indian surname) in common with Ego. Within the Spanish surname, some people are considered in the descent group and some are considered aparte (separate), but a man of the Spanish name Perez, would say that all those Perezetik who are not aparte belong to his family, and any Perez is "closer" to another Perez than to a man of another Spanish name. The reason for the segmentation of the Spanish name-group is lost in the past. When the lineage system was composed of

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736 linearity. The widow is expected to give back to them the house
613 site and house in which they lived, and go to live in her own
423 parental home. In one case, a woman who had kept the house in trust for her sons, asked permission to sell the lot (which originally had been given to her dead husband) from a living male sibling of the deceased.

613 There are no ritual functions which have to be performed
592 by the patriline. Aguacatenango rituals are carried on by the
796 household, by the part-time ritual specialists (curanderos), or
794 by officially appointed town officers (the Mayordomos).

121 This type of "lineage" seems to fit Homan's definition of
613 "weak" lineage, because he considers the following characteristics as defining a weak lineage: (1) few (less than four) generations in depth; (2) narrow spread of linearity counted at any given time for each generation; (3) locality limited to a few people; and (4) incest rules pulled towards the smaller local units and mainly restricted to the nuclear family. The characteristics of a strong lineage, in contrast, are: (1) many (more than four) generations in depth; (2) wide spread of linearity counted at any given time for each generation; (3) maximal localization of residence and maximal sharing of activities within the lineage; and (4) incest rules pushed away from the local units, to embrace all relatives within a lineage (lecture in the Oriental Institute, April 22, 1959, unpublished). However, I prefer to call them patrilines to distinguish them from the more elaborate agnatic descent groups common in Africa, from which they are distinguished by (1) the lack of genealogical depth; (2) the absence of the use of genealogical

121 613 manipulations for political purposes; and (3) their restricted functions.

174 613 Why is the patriline this weak? There are reasons of an historical nature, as well as functional reasons. First, with the centralization of political power created by the Spanish colony, in which each household head, independently of lineage affiliation, became a tributario (tax payer) and had rights of participation in the political structure, the political functions or the lineage 613 became debilitated. At the present time, it is only through the 624 principales that the patriline as a unit has political representation. The principles are usually the elders of the largest patrilines in the community. To make decisions, they have to have the backing of the men they represent. Belonging to a larger line indicates that a man is capable of controlling a larger number of household heads and, therefore, has stronger political support. That being the head of a large patriline gives a man authority in village affairs is shown not only by the fact that principales are thus supported, but also by the fact that patriline elders, even if they are not officially principales, on occasions can act as such, and they are sought after for advice in making Ayuntamiento decisions, by their own people and by other villagers.

174 423 613 Second, with the relocation of the lineages at the time that the village was reducido, and the control of the lands by the Encomienda and the Spanish crown and later by the fincas, some of the lineage control over its lands was lost. It is possible, however, that before the agrarian reform, when the village lands were scarcer, the land holding rights of the patriline were more precisely stated.

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184 621 591 women tend to stay within the neighborhood in which they are born, or, equally, cross territorial lines at marriage.

• 121 591 To be able to derive these simple rules of residence, we had to take into account some aspects of sponsorship which Fischer did not include in his typology. First, Fischer makes the error of assuming that people make residence choices mainly in terms of kinship, and within kinship, in terms of lineage and lineage sponsors.

We have shown that people make residence choices in terms of both kinship links and economic interdependence, and that among kinsmen, unilinearity is not necessarily the basic criterion for 121 choice. Although Fischer's typology can be very useful in analyzing 128 602 groups in which linearity is strong, such as Aguacatenango, it tends to obscure the analysis of more bilateral groups such as Amatenango.

128 602 591 562 561 571 To make up for this bias in the taxonomy, we had to add three separate criteria for sponsorship: (1) the sex of the sponsor, independently of his lineage affiliation; (2) the generation of the sponsor; (3) the economic role of the sponsor, independently of his or her sex, and independently of his or her kinship connection with the person being sponsored.

184 591 592 At any given time, an individual in Aguacatenango or Amatenango resides in one and only one household, and derives his rights of membership in the unit through kinship or marriage, depending on the importance of his position as a laborer. While in Aguacatenango men derive their membership, as a rule, through descent and women after marriage only through affinality, in

182 571 (602) based on non-kinship terms would maximize profit or material benefits, which the kinship frame limits considerably. Second, 182 183 461 556 the cultural norms imposed on the villager about the types of work which he is allowed to perform, about the maximum wealth which he is able to control, and about the distribution of this wealth, are, from a purely financial point of view, "anti-economical." 156 177 But an Indian living in a Ladino town, undoubtedly having the choice of improving his life from an economic point of view, 156 626 556 alienates himself from everything which is dear to him. An Indian attempting to live up to his aspirations of wealth within the community, alienates himself even more, and risks the dangers of witchcraft and social ostracism.

121 The phrase, "man does not live by bread alone," is very much of a truism here. If the primary factor in determining behavior were economical, the villager would have no need to live within the customary standards of living of his community nor would the corporate community persist. Each Indian could become a laborer of some sort, and integrate himself into the national society of Mexico.

But people make choices not only because they are financially advantageous, but because they preserve their standing within their kinship group, they provide satisfaction for their need of the psychological rewards of prestige and positive affection and for their need for "belonging" to a group of similar human beings with similar culture and aspirations.

We have to admit, then, that it is as impossible to analyze social dynamics, only taking into account economic variables, as

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121 it is impossible to do it taking into account any other variable in isolation. Social structures are built up around several simultaneously activated domains of phenomena. Kinship (or the biological facts of birth and copulation and the concomitant social facts of descent and affinality) is one domain. Economics (or the system for the production and allocation of rights over material goods and services) is another domain. Territorial allegiances, based on spatial proximity or distance, is another. The domain of the psychological (the inherent needs of human beings for sociality, positive affection, the sharing of moral values with other men [and perhaps the need for controlling others]), is still another domain.

182 796 If we take ritual as a projective system of the importance of social domains, we can see that it involves, in every case, several of them.

[571] [527] [764] [602] [241] For example, in Aguacatenango and Amatenango, ritual practices are oriented towards: (1) expressing tensions between individuals among whom harmonic relations are re-established through the curing ceremony; (2) expressing the territorial attachments of people, such as the ceremonies for housewarmings and the fact that in the cemetery people are buried according to the place in which they resided (the cemetery is a small replica of the village); (3) expressing kinship bonds, such as the marriage ceremony, the baptisms and compadrazgos, the food given to the ancestors on Todos Santos, etc.; (4) expressing economic needs, such as the rituals performed to insure the success of the harvest.

000 Within the same cultural frame, two social groups can

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Introduction

BEHAVIORAL REGULARITIES in ritual or informal interaction are usually considered the raw material for making structural-functional statements. The descriptive data are used illustratively or may never be included with published material. This monograph describes ritual activity, both elicited and observed. The object is (1) to state the behavioral dimensions of a structural-functional model and (2) to show where social changes are putting stress on that structure.

Ritual events are good occasions for such study because both communally prescribed and individually preferred behavior can be recorded. The expected behavior can be sorted out from the chance since the rules are more explicit than in ordinary interaction. Ceremonial behavior projects in a public performance a given set of status relationships. In doing things as they were done in the past, a theme repeated in prayers and in explanations for actions, people assert continuity of tradition. But just because of this, ceremonies are an occasion for dramatizing social change (Geertz, 1957). Competition between groups and tensions deriving from contradictions which are not apparent in everyday life may be expressed during the ceremony.

I have chosen the rituals of the inauguration of civil and religious officials in the community of Tzo?ontahal, Chiapas, Mexico, because in these performances people act out their techniques for maintaining continuity at the time of change.[1] The inauguration is a rite of passage designed to gain social acceptance of new personnel in a given set of roles. However, as in all ceremonies in this community, the occasion provides the backdrop for the release of latent hostilities. The formal ceremony requires drinking a great deal of the locally distilled liquor, "the gift of the ancestors" that makes fiestas possible.[2] Liquor rids the participants of embarrassment

[1] Field research was supported by a grant from the National Institute of Mental Health which made possible my stay from May to September, 1964, and again in December, 1964. I am grateful to Duane Metzger for providing facilities for working in San Cristobal de las Casas with my informants. Comments by Harold Conklin, Constance Sutton, and David Hunter have helped improve earlier versions.

[2] In a myth concerning the origin of liquor, it is said that the town had no fiestas until Santiago gave the gift of liquor.

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and, in fostering social intercourse, it frees them of other constraints. With the usual inhibitions removed, the social interaction following the ceremony allows the investigator to see below the surface.

We have many structural-functional descriptions of the civil-religious hierarchy of highland Maya Indian communities (Adams, 1957; Cámara Barbachano, 1952; Cancian, 1964; McArthur, 1961; Siverts, 1960, 1964; Tax, 1964; Vogt, 1965; Zabala Cubillos, 1961). The roles and functions of the hierarchy are at least minimally described in the many community studies of the area (Bunzel, 1952; Guiteras Holmes, 1961; LaFarge, 1947; LaFarge and Byers, 1931; M. Nash, 1955; Tax, 1947a,b; Valladares, 1957; Wagley, 1949; Wisdom, 1940). We have, as well, historical summaries of the colonial and independence developments (Aguirre Beltrán, 1953; Carrasco, 1952, 1961; Chávez Orozco, 1943). In previous summaries of the structure and functioning of the hierarchies, however, systematic descriptive data on performances are mostly lacking. Vogt (1965, p. 42) has indicated the value of observing behavior as a "reliable operational measure for determining rank" in Zinacantan. Cross-community comparison of institutions would be facilitated by such behavioral data. For example, the recurrent descriptive phrase "closely integrated civil-religious hierarchy" covers a spectrum of behavioral and ideological components which ranges from one in which officials of both ladders are linked by a series of sacred acts, functions and personnel, to one in which there is independent and exclusive participation. These generalizations can be broken down to a series of acts in which they are expressed. If comparison over time or between communities is to be meaningful, we must look to the descriptive detail which went into such generalizations.

For any scheduled event such as a ritual, three sources of data are available: the expectations of what will happen, the case histories of similar events in the past, and the observation of the event. In tapping the first of these, I have used the technique developed by Metzger and Williams (1963) in formal ethnographic analysis.[3] In this approach, the informant co-

[3] I am indebted to Duane Metzger for training in these methods, and to discussions with him, Brent Berlin, and Paul Kay which helped me in working out the observation schedule.

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operates with the ethnologist in framing questions in his own language. Within a chronological framework, questions of who is doing what, when, where, how, and why are asked for each activity. The same set of questions can be asked of several informants in this phase of the investigation. This method yields understanding of the cultural models of behavior, the expectation patterns which are the charters for action. But because it restricts the stimuli in order to provoke predictable responses, the investigator runs the risk of getting only stereotyped responses, and the informants often become acculturated to the questioner's categories. We can elicit imitative or predictive behavior, but learning about innovating behavior, the "techniques," or "what to do when" (Wallace, 1964, p. 19), requires that the informant have a chance to express himself freely. Unsolicited comments and anecdotes provided by the informants as they grew bored in the formal analysis were recorded along with the responses to questions posed. These data are fed into the model.

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The second source of data—concrete cases which the informant has experienced in the past—indicates the range of variation in performance, the sources of innovation, and the development of strategies. This kind of information is supplemented by observation of the event. At this phase of the investigation, particularly if one is prepared by eliciting prior to the event, the ethnologist can see in the enactment of roles the nuances of gesture and pose which indicate affect. The emotional attitudes towards things, people, and activities, which often cannot be verbalized, become apparent in the performance.

If we accept the fact that there is not a single "homemade model" of the society (Levi-Strauss, 1962, p. 324) but several, we are prepared to probe the several levels of awareness present in the actors' mode of orienting to the world. At one level cultural understandings may be explicitly formulated, at another they may be implicit in language categories, and finally they may be derived only from nonverbal patterns of behavior. The informant's statements are inadequate insofar as they may stem from (1) ideological lag such that new behavior has not been assimilated in a cognitive frame, (2) inadequate generalization such that connections between related systems of thought and action are omitted, and (3) failure by the anthropologist to interpret what the informant was telling him. The anthropologist's model of behavior is a synthesis and elaboration of the in-

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formants' conscious understandings as well as of their subconscious patterns of behavior.

Description of behavior requires a theoretical approach to the problems of segmenting activity streams, selecting events, and ordering them. Too large chunks of behavior are not useful in comparisons made over time in the same society or between societies. However, because human (as well as animal) behavior is characterized by motivation and cognition (Tolman, 1961) we cannot expect to isolate minimal units which are invariant from one context to another. Verbs, as French (1954, p. 162) points out, are one-act plays in which a change of dramatis personae creates entirely new meaning. Furthermore, the symbolic weight of a single act varies; it can encompass the history of an institution, such as crossing oneself, or it can establish identification with a social movement, such as raising a clenched fist. However, for any behavioral schema, which I define, following Piaget, as component acts structured in an organized totality (Flavell, 1963, p. 54), it is possible to segment acts and assess their significance. In the major schema of the inauguration of officials in Tzo?ontahal, place, time, and roles are the bases for structuring related sets of activities.

Segmenting human behavior has been treated as either an actor-oriented or an observer-oriented problem. Pike (1954) and Adams (1962) rely on informants' advice to isolate the "behavioreme," whereas Harris (1964, p. 367 ff.) rejects the actor's statement of goals in favor of the investigator's own definitions of action units. If the "basic unit of action in the human body is purposive motion" (Burke, 1962, p. 61), then we must consider the meaning of action at the first stage of an analysis.[4] The anthropological observer's segmentation at this point injects cultural bias which stems from his point of view (Hymes, 1964, p. 14; Spier and Sapir, 1930, p. 217). Since our

[4] Most verbs used by informants in describing action patterns imply purpose. The informant says that he "eats," not that he raises food to his mouth and masticates it. The coding of motives and goals in the verbs underlines the importance of eliciting in the performer's own language. For example, when one observes the Indians as they enter the townhall, one sees them kneel and do what could be interpreted as crossing themselves. Asked what they do, the informants reply, "We measure our noses (*sp'is smi?ik*)." Measuring water (*sp'is ha?*) is another important ceremonial act. This suggests the possible ceremonial significance of measure in ceremonial performances. To assume knowledge of the act because of its similarity to Catholic forms might rule out suggestions requiring deeper probing. Cf. Adams' (1962) distinction between the reported and the observed act, and Barker (1963).

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informants cannot, fortunately, be relegated to the role of rats in the maze of their own cultural settings, I prefer the actor's to the investigator's statement of significantly contrasting units. I have found it useful, however, to retain both modes of analysis. Observation corrects for the shorthand statements of the informant, for his lapses of memory, or for inadequate knowledge. Even if some of these inadequacies are corrected by other informants, there remains the problem as to what is an individual understanding and what is socially shared knowledge. In addition, observation provides cues to the dynamic variables which enter into all social processes.

It is impossible, if not irrelevant, to recount all the behavior occurring in an event. Some of the selection will be fortuitous: we will record what aspects we observe. But not all of this need be included. For example, one would exclude the trips to the back of the patio to urinate by participants in a household ritual, but what might well be recorded is the etiquette with which they undertake these trips. In Tzo?ontahal, people carefully excuse themselves, saying, "I go before your face," specifying that they must urinate. Discretion requires explicitness rather than reticence in reference to such urges, perhaps because of the paranoic fears, particularly during curing ritual, that the one who is departing may be using counter-healing magic when he leaves the group.

There is no absolute rule to guide one in selection. In my own field notes, I note what is significant in terms of my own comprehension of goals being pursued. Having been cued into most of the activity in sessions with the informants prior to the event, I have

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some basis for perceiving actions significant to them. 121

Selection in the eliciting session is only partly controlled by the interviewer. The problem is not only to prod the informant for greater specificity, but to structure the recall by such devices as having him draw maps of person-place relations or kinship diagrams so that details will not be lost. As informants gain a sense of the problems being posed, they tend to become self-stimulating in providing information. 124

Finally, the problem of ordering a description of behavior is usually handled most efficiently in a chronological sequence. Simultaneous events can be described in terms of a sequence of activities occurring in different settings. This facilitates the analysis of time and space as designates of role relationships. 121

The analysis in Section 1 deals with the cognitive frame of reference concerning roles and relationships in the civil and religious hierarchies as elicited from informants using the method of formal analysis. Section 2 concerns the behavior in the ritual inaugurations of civil and religious officials in which these role structures are both exemplified and modified. Data are derived from the three sources defined above, i.e., expectations as to what will happen, performances in the past, and observation of the event in process. In Section 3 divergences between elicited and observed schedules (Appendices 1 and 2) are analyzed in terms of their significance for social change. Data derived from "informal" analysis, or unstructured interviewing of informants, are fed into the model. Finally, the behavioral data are summarized in terms of structural functional explanations and in terms of their implications for change. 121 128

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MY ELICITING PROCEDURES are described to make explicit the steps in constructing the informant's cognitive model. The first responses given by an informant are most often those which have the greatest significance within a structured system of priorities or of dominance. For example, informants in Tzo?ontahal invariably listed the officials in order of primacy. Another clue to the structuring of social relations is the omission of data in the first interview. This can mean either repression of information or lack of significance for the informant as an individual or for the society. These factors can be sorted out in subsequent interviews.

When asked, "What are all the kinds of offices in Tzo?ontahal," informants replied, "offices in the *kabiltu,* or townhall, and offices in the *č'ulna,* holy house or church. The question, "What are the kinds of officials in the townhall?" elicited the following three categories: *alkaletik,* alcaldes or judges; *rehiroletik,* regidores; and *mayoletik,* mayores or policemen. These categories are ranked relative to each other; for example, *alkaletik* is of greater prestige (*mas mamalis,* senior), *rehiroletik* next, and *mayoletik* least. Thus there are in the *alkaletik* category: *primero alkal,* first judge; *sčebal alkal,* second judge; *čeb suplente alkal,* two assistant judges. In the *rehiroletik* category there are: *primero rehirol,* first regidor; *sčebal rehirol,* second regidor; *yošebal rehirol,* third regidor; *čanebal rehirol,* fourth regidor. In the *mayoletik* category there are: *primero mayol,* first policeman; *sčebal mayol,* second policeman; *yošebal mayol,* third policeman; *sčanebal mayol,* fourth policeman; and *spoil mayol,* last policeman.

Cutting across this ranked hierarchy of officials are two geographical divisions; these align officials according to the side of the dual division in which they reside and which they represent. There is one judge from the upper division, *ahk'olnantik,* and one from the lower division, *alannantik.* The first judge is chosen in alternate years from one or the other of the two divisions, and so on for each rank of judges and regidores. There are two sets of five police, one from each side of the dual division serving in alternating weeks. The two assistant judges are chosen from the barrios Magronal and Bočibal. They never attain the first two positions. In addition to this regular ladder

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Second, the house ceremonials require the addition of this segment to complement the civil and religious structures so that we have a triadic set of officials—civil, religious and household—rather than a dyadic set as is usually described for Mesoamerican communities.

Agent, place, time, and acts, both verbal and motor,

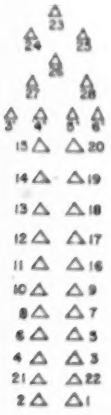

CHART 9 — PROCESSION, NEW YEAR'S DAY (ELICITED)

OFFICIALS:

3'-6' Alfereces
23 Guitarist *(alpultero)*
24, 25 Firecracker lighters *(tomese ti?bak)*
26 Flautist *(yamai)*
27, 28 Drummers *(stihik sk'ayobik)*

Remaining numbers refer to role terms in Chart 7, in addition to 21 and 22, rural judges listed in Chart 8.

carefully described, are the pegs on which comparative analysis can be hung. What we lose in literary value in ethnographic accounts, we may gain in making explicit the inductive bases of structural functional analyses. Once we understand the principles involved in the assignment of position or action in any setting, variations from the elicited and observed pattern provide clues to social change within small time periods.

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MOST ETHNOGRAPHIC REPORTS on the civil-religious hierarchy emphasize status and the functional goal of community integration. What we have failed to impart is the dynamic aspect of status, role. In the divergences between expected and enacted patterns of behavior in those occasions when the individual

CHART 10 — NEW YEAR'S DAY PROCESSION OF NEW OFFICIALS (OBSERVED)

OFFICIALS:
29, 30, 31 Comisarios of San Vicente, San Caralampio, and Cruz Quemada

Remaining numbers refer to role terms in Charts 7 and 9.

"puts into effect the rights and duties which constitute the status" (Linton, 1936, p. 114), we have micrometers to the measurement of change. The details of change may be small—for example, a shift in the lineup of officials in a procession—but it may be a clue to important organizational changes. The behavioral changes in details of this sort provide cues to eliciting information that will explain the divergences. An important supplement to these cues are the unsolicited comments of informants. Sometimes

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public in the procession around the plaza (App. 1, Q. 39). The mayordomos gather in the church specifically to view the new incumbents (App. 1, Q. 50). There is less public display of new officeholders in the case of the religious officials than in the case of civil officials.

The morphological description of the structure of a society is inadequate unless it includes role behavior as well as status positions. The behavioral data pro-

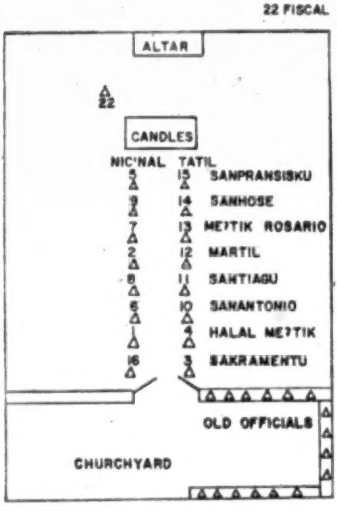

CHART 15 — NEW MAYORDOMOS INSIDE CHURCH, FIESTA OF SAN PEDRO SAN PABLO (OBSERVED)

vide the basis for describing the physiology of a culture, or how actors and social groups interrelate in carrying out tasks. In the inaugurations, the household emerged in the behavioral descriptions as an important ritual domain supporting the civil and religious hierarchy. Similarly, the asymmetrical relation between the role of religious officials in the civil inauguration and that of civil officials in the religious

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inauguration is deduced from both elicited and observed behavior. These data complement the elicited material on structure in rounding out the ethnographic model of social reality.

Specification of the behavioral data on which structural and functional statements are made should provide the basis for more precise comparisons over time and between communities. I turn to the observed interaction to summarize the evidence for microchange within the community.

Outside of the formally prescribed behavior scheduled in the inauguration, a struggle for power is going on which is leading to important organizational changes in the town. This was suggested in the substitution of the schoolteacher for the former Ladino secretary in the act of giving the oath. Factional struggle of the leaders of the new enterprises was revealed in this substitution. Further evidence of change is seen in the redefinition of the president's position in relation to that of the principales. The potential power which the post offers to the incumbent and those who back him is now recognized. The risks are higher as the competition for the post increases.

In the religious sphere the priest's increasing control over the domain of the church is seen in the shift of setting for the common meal from the churchyard to the *?ali?bal's* house. This evoked the story of the open confrontation of the priest and cofrades a few years before. Public counting of funds by civil officials suggests an attempt by the new leadership to thwart the priest's dominance over the cofrades.

In the emergent struggle for power within the community, we see not just a defensive reaction to Ladinos by Indians of a corporate community, but a play for stakes in the same world. This suggests that the corporate community, now and in the future, serves not so much as an insulation from the outside world as in the past but as a springboard for the entry of the Indians into fuller participation in the national society.

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